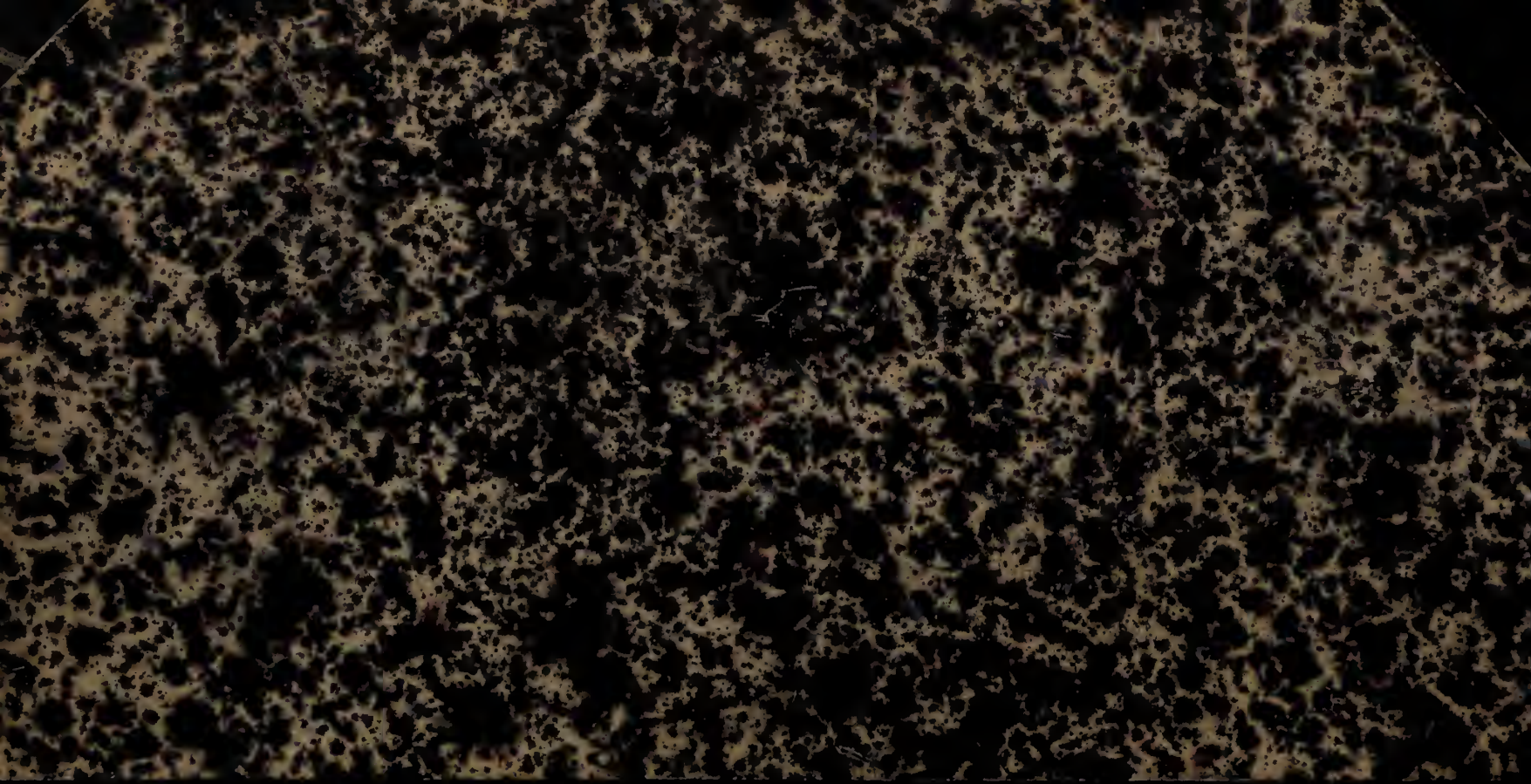

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WORDSWORTH'S PASSION.

FEW of us, I dare say, even among those of us who have read Wordsworth's poetry the most, would claim that passion was a main trait of it, unless in some subtler and less obvious meaning of the word. Certainly his poetry is not, in the main, at all what we describe as passionate. Nor should we search very hopefully for passion in the nature of the man himself,—the nature of which such chastened poetry, such temperate prose, were the products.

But was Wordsworth's nature cold? "Thought touched with emotion" is not absent from his writings; it is, indeed, by such emotion, often expressed with marvellous literary fidelity, that he applied his thought, such as it is, to life. What, after all, was the endowment of passion in this man who is remembered somewhat unsympathetically? How far did it inform those parts of his writings that have won the choicest spirits to sympathy? How far was his coldness that of temperament; how far a thing of purpose? How far, in a word, are the will and passion of the man discriminable from those of the poet? Wordsworth's passion was not deficient, but it acted under restrictions which it may be interesting to note. It is true that he avoided the themes most popular with other poets; but he avoided them with a set critical choice. Let us see how he treated the impulses, whether permitted or suppressed, by which poets are commonly moved or mastered.

In this study a main document must be the *Prelude*,—the most remarkable life of an English poet that exists. The work is a minute and profound study of the growth and education of a poet's mind; written during his best years (1799–1805), it is an epitome of his

thought, feeling, and earlier experience. It is a masterpiece of spiritual autobiography; this poem, more than any other, we must study to know Wordsworth himself. In the *Prelude* he is his own theme; not an interesting one, many will say. I will not here contest that question; what is clear is that he has treated the theme thoroughly. Macaulay called the *Prelude* unreadable, but that is hardly a reason why we may not expect to find it worth reading; Shelley's reasons in *Peter Bell the Third* were perhaps more to the point. But let us turn to the poem itself.

And first, let us look at Wordsworth's early days, before his time of work began,—the days that are said to be especially formative of character. What was the boy Wordsworth, the "father" to the man and poet? From the *Prelude* we learn that he began with a thoroughly joyous, healthy, animal boyhood. "Fair seedtime had my soul;" he "herded," in those ardent days, with

> "A race of real children; not too wise,
> Too learned, or too good; but wanton, fresh,
> And bandied up and down by love and hate,
> Not unresentful where self-justified;
> Fierce, moody, patient, venturous, modest, shy,
> Mad at their sport like withered leaves in woods."—*Prelude*, Book I.

Happiest, most fortunate of boyhoods, to have been one of this band of "real children"—not exiled from life to books, or imprisoned by narrow parental scruples! Of this genuine boyhood Wordsworth has drawn many and vivid pictures—pictures which will move the hearts of those who have had a true boyhood to remember. His fishing, bird-nesting, boating, trapping, riding, swimming, skating, kite-flying, even his zealous card-playing, all are described with a sort of yearning remembrance; and thus the poet breaks out:

> "Unfading recollections! at this hour,
> The heart is almost mine with which I felt,
> From some hill-top on sunny afternoons,
> The paper-kite high among fleecy clouds,
> Pull at her rein like an impetuous courser;
> Or, from the meadows sent on gusty days,
> Beheld her breast the wind, then suddenly,
> Dashed headlong, and rejected by the storm."—*Prelude*, Book I.

Here again is a glimpse of the boy as a vigorous young amphibian:

> "Many a time have I, a five years' child,
> In a small mill-race severed from his stream,

Made one long bathing of a summer's day;
Basked in the sun, and plunged and basked again,
Alternate, all a summer's day; . . .
. . . or when rock and hill,
The woods, and distant Skiddaw's lofty height,
Where bronzed with deepest radiance, stood alone
Beneath the sky, as if I had been born
On Indian plains, and from my mother's hut
Had run abroad in wantonness to sport,
A naked savage, in the thunder shower."—*Prelude*, Book I.

And from this passage following, it is quite evident that the young Wordsworth was one of the lads, to use his own phrase, who were "not too good."

"Ere I had told
Ten birthdays, when among the mountain slopes
Frost, and the breath of frosty wind had snapped
The last autumnal crocus, 'twas my joy,
With store of springes o'er my shoulder hung,
To range the open heights where woodcocks run
Along the smooth green turf. Through half the night,
Scudding away from snare to snare, I plied
That anxious visitation.

". . . Sometimes it befell
In these night wanderings, that a strong desire
O'erpowered my better reason, and the bird
Which was the captive of another's toil
Became my prey."

Passing now from this ardent boyhood to the time of early youth when his mind was still, as he tells us

"A party-colored show of grave and gay,
Solid and light, short-sighted and profound,"

he gives us two companion pictures, equally remarkable in themselves and in their contrast. The first describes a country festival which he attended during his first college vacation; he was then in his nineteenth year:

"'Mid a throng
Of maids and youths, old men and matrons staid,
A medley of all tempers, I had passed
The night in dancing, gayety, and mirth,
With din of instruments and shuffling feet,
And glancing forms, and tapers glittering,
And unaimed prattle flying up and down;

Spirits upon the stretch, and here and there
Slight shocks of young love-liking interspersed,
Whose transient pleasure mounted to the head
And tingled through the veins."—*Prelude*, Book IV.

But that giddy night was ended by a solitary walk homeward in the growing morning light; and Wordsworth describes, in a contrasted passage, a passage that is instinct with the solemn beauty of the dawning, the awakening of a new day in himself under its influence:

"The sea lay laughing at a distance; near,
The solid mountains shone bright as the clouds,
Grain-tinctured, drenched in empyrean light;
And in the meadows and the lower grounds
Was all the sweetness of a common dawn,
Dews, vapors, and the melody of birds."

When has the ineffable sentiment of the dawning hour drawn so near to expression as in these words? What other poet has touched the natural magic of a scene like this with such transfusing imagination as that of the three closing lines? In this rapturous moment the poet made his first self-consecration:

". . . I made no vows, but vows
Were made for me; bond unknown to me
Was given, that I should be, else sinning greatly,
A dedicated spirit."

To poetry Wordsworth was certainly a dedicated spirit; and so strict was his self-dedication, so close and constant his following of the chosen walk, that we may readily imagine him as a purely dispassionate intelligence. There is something peculiarly impressive in this august intellectual figure, as it appears in the best parts of his writings. But the important point, the point which I wish to set in clear light, is this: that Wordsworth dedicated only a part of his faculties to the service of poetry. He dedicated a part; as far as he could he deliberately excluded a part, and indeed the greater part, of his gift. He avoided themes, as the epic and the dramatic, which a majority of poets have deemed essential to their service, and in his chosen field of lyric poetry, the poetry, that is to say, which deals primarily with the poet's own thought and feeling, he kept in strict abeyance the main subjects of most poets' work—the subjects which turn upon the passions. These he held at arm's length, and with a firmness which it would be hard to find equalled by any other real poet.

And first: of the passion which is usually the mastering one of poets at least, if not of the unpoetic—the amatory passion; of this Wordsworth has far less to say than any other English singer of his rank. Was it by lack of the passion in himself, or by avoidance of the passion, that his verses commonly keep to the measure of the soft island pulse? Why, instead of exploring the fields of passion, of plucking its blossoms and rioting in its perfumes, did this strong man and singer come to utter, instead, cadences of such pure yet magical voice as these:

> "Our walk was far among the ancient trees;
> There was no road, or any woodman's path. . . ."
>
> "O listen! for the Vale profound
> Is overflowing with the sound."

Why, instead of "exulting, trembling, raging, fainting," does he describe the "Helvetian Maid" by saying that

> "Her beauty dazzles the thick wood,
> Her courage animates the flood."

or Lucy as

> "A violet by a mossy stone,
> Half hidden from the eye,
> Fair as a star, when only one
> Is shining in the sky."

or say, again, that

> "The stars of midnight shall be dear
> To her; and she shall lean her ear
> In many a secret place,
> Where rivulets dance their wayward round
> And beauty born of murmuring sound
> Shall pass into her face;
> And vital feelings of delight
> Shall rear her form to stately height,
> Her virgin bosom swell."

Small remembrance is there here, and small remembrance of it shall we elsewhere find in Wordsworth of the amatory note. But we have seen that Wordsworth was not an ascetic, either by temperament or training. Few men of power, poetic or other, are in our time ascetics; and we may see the proof in actual literary performance that he might have written powerfully of the great passion had he chosen.

The most interesting passage in evidence here is one which describes his reluctant parting from Switzerland and from the Swiss maidens, or at least from the sight of them, as he toiled along the road on returning from his first Continental tour. The passage was

early suppressed by himself, and must be sought for in the *Descriptive Sketches* of 1793; it is excluded from all the later editions.

> "Farewell, those forms that in the noontide shade
> Rest, near their little plots of wheaten glade;
> Those steadfast eyes, that beating breasts inspire
> To throw the "sultry rays" of young Desire;
> Those lips whose tides of fragrance come and go
> Accordant to the cheek's unquiet glow;
> Those shadowy breasts in love's soft light array'd
> And rising, by the moon of passion sway'd." *

This passage is in Wordsworth's proscribed style—a vein of which we shall find scarcely a trace in his subsequent writings; it is the vein which henceforth he was to keep in strict abeyance. It is interesting to know that Wordsworth studied the British poets in Anderson's voluminous collection, one that is rich in amatory verses. With this rather fleshly *corpus poetarum* before him, one may suppose that he perceived the more distinctly that there was then no pressing need for further offerings of the amatory sort to the British muse.

We may now answer our question about his avoidance of amatory verse by referring it to two reasons. The first was a clear, critical perception on his part of a more promising walk in poetry. The second was the fortunate independence which enabled him to keep consistently to that walk; and the fact that his temper was not a social one made seclusion come far more acceptably and naturally to him than it comes to other poets. His marriage was happy; he had the devoted aid and sympathy of a woman of genius, his sister; and he was from his youth onwards exempted from the soul-quenching pressure of poverty. All these fortunately adjuvant circumstances withdrew the active youth from the excitements of the world; they placed him in a quiet and happy country home, with assured support and comfort. What more could the young poet desire? It was with perfect truth that he could say, in later years, "My whole life have I passed in pleasant thought." Is it strange that the "dedicated spirit" should have become a poet of nature and of meditation?

Mr. Swinburne argues that the greatest poets could not have been great under any other than their actual conditions. About that question we need not inquire too curiously; but we may easily think that great poets might have exchanged the main part of their rôles

* I have the pleasure of quoting from Prof. Charles Eliot Norton's copy of this very rare book.

with each other, had they been born to each other's place and circumstance. To suppose an extreme case; suppose, for a moment, that Byron and Wordsworth had taken each other's places in life; that the boy Wordsworth had inherited a title and a fortune, that George Gordon had remained a commoner? I will not argue that Byron would ever have written *The Excursion*, or Wordsworth *Don Juan*. No changeling gifts, but the deepest traits of their author's spirits, inspired those antipodal works. And yet a considerable part of the two men's creation might have been interchangeable; for a considerable part of their endowment and character was similar. Each of these poets was thoroughly English in blood, education, and social if not political prejudice. Each had the individual gift of tireless vigor, both physical and mental, and an unsatisfiable hunger for physical exertion; this impulse made of Byron, according to his circumstances, an equestrian, boxer, and fencer, and of Wordsworth, according to his, a lifelong pedestrian. But their important trait in common is that each of these poets was to the last degree introspective and self-occupied; and each, because he was thus dominated by introspection, was deficient in the dramatic quality. Each, in a word, and in the stricter sense of that loosely-used word, was a lyric poet, a poet who gave himself to expressing his own emotions; neither one was a dramatic poet. Each, again, deeply desired fame; and yet each scorned the thoughtless praise or blame of "the public," the coteries that Wordsworth loved to distinguish from "the people," and from its deeper and truer voice. The familiar passage will be remembered in which he calls the former "that small though loud portion of the community, ever governed by factitious influence, which, under the name of the public, passes itself upon the unthinking, for the people." And each of the two poets, according to his temperament, scorned and abandoned the world of British conventions; one withdrawing as a humanitarian—at least he thought himself a humanitarian—the other as a cynic; the one pursuing a quiet life and fortune, the other himself pursued by fates of the most threatening temper. Both, in this abandonment, were blamed for irreligion; and blamed in ways most uncritically discriminated both then and since. Byron was at heart the more religious man of the two. Though he professed it little, and practised it less, Byron always had, at heart, an orthodox religious creed. Wordsworth professed such a creed, and passes for a religious conformist, which externally he was; but, unless in his later years, his conformity was

merely external. Need I push this comparison any further to show that there was not a little in common between these unlike poets?

How widely different, on the other hand, even from the cradle, were the determining powers of circumstance that acted upon them! From the troubled and passionate childhood of the young Byron, and the "fair seed-time" of Wordsworth, each later phase of quiet or troubled growth, of peaceful or disturbed activity, of serene thought or passionate protest, came from a pressure of circumstance almost absolutely dissimilar; and the contrast of their lives, the contrast of their writings, is due, I am convinced, in no small part to these extrinsic influences. If Wordsworth's life had been cast upon such an agitated current as that which bore Byron's away, he too might have been swept into a career as stormy. It was only his lack of means that prevented him from offering his services in the French Revolution. If Byron had made port in a happy home, and floated thereafter all his life upon such quiet waters as those where Wordsworth was embayed, it is not at all inconceivable that he might have become a distinguished member of the Lake school—a little noisy perhaps, a somewhat difficult neighbor for Mr. Southey. But he would have thronged the mountain-tops with gigantic genii, and the tarns with kelpies, and exposed himself to lightning on the pikes; he would have given us, at any rate, a description of the snow-storms in the mountains,—a thing, by the way, which Wordsworth, with all his observation of nature, never did.

But, quitting this speculation, Wordsworth's self-restraint in respect of passion did not hinder him from producing two groups of love-poems—alas! of the briefest—but of exquisitely tender beauty. The first of these series includes the five unnamed poems on Lucy, all written in 1798–1799, during Wordsworth's and Coleridge's winter in Goslar, when the young poets shivered around their stove, and their landlord expected them to freeze to death over-night; in such circumstances were these tender dreams of love recorded.* The

* They should be read in the following order:

"Strange fits of passion have I known."
"Three years she grew in sun and shower."
"She dwelt among the untrodden ways."
"I travelled among unknown men."
"A slumber did my spirit seal."

I include this last poem in this group, for I cannot doubt that it was inspired by the same person. It is worthy to be read with Landor's *Rose Aylmer*. The story of this love is unknown; Wordsworth left no record of it except in these poems.

other series of Wordsworth's love-poems are scarcely less exquisite than those just mentioned. They include those which were inspired by his wife (as he "expressly told" Crabb Robinson) and form a series "to be read in succession* as exhibiting the different phases of his affection;" and I may mention, also, as belonging to this group, the lines beginning,

"What heavenly smiles, O lady mine,"

the *Complaint*,

"There is a change,—and I am poor,"

and the sonnet,

"Why art thou silent? Is thy love a plant
Of such weak fibre?

Aside from the interest of its beauty, this beautiful sonnet long commanded the interest of having been inspired by a real person. But in a note to his prose writings it stands confessed by Wordsworth himself as a poetic exercise, the lines having been suggested by the sight of "a forsaken bird's nest filled with snow." He tells us that they were written simply to show what he could do in a manner of which, to use his temperate phrase, "other poets have been fond." And spoken words of his upon this subject have been recorded: "Had I been a writer of love-poetry," he said, "it would have been natural to me to write it with a degree of warmth which could hardly have been approved by my principles, and which might have been undesirable for the reader."

I have called these the most important of Wordsworth's love-poems; it would be as well to call them the only true love-poems that he wrote. Most of his *Poems of the Affections*, indeed, we may fairly call Pitcairn Island poetry; though the feeling in them is tender and often exquisite, they are verses that beat with an untroubled pulse. The distinction as to this part of Wordsworth's performance is that he could have written excellent poetry of passion at will; but that he avoided the walk of which "other poets have been fond,"

* In the following order:

"Our walk was far among the ancient trees."
"She was a Phantom of delight."
"Let other bards of angels sing."
"Yes, thou art fair yet be not moved."
"All praise the likeness by thy skill conveyed."

and chose a different one. Of true love-poetry few who could have written it so well have written so little as Wordsworth.

Turning now to other passions, a similar distinction holds, as we shall see, in Wordsworth's choice of subjects. If he was but a temperate singer of love, was he a tepid hater? Proof enough appears both in his writings and in his life, that he was no tepid hater; that of disliking, aversion, animosity, he felt his full share. The proof occurs much less frequently in his verse than in his prose; for he excluded malevolent feeling from his poetry even more strictly than amorous feeling, thus foregoing another principal range of themes in which poets of all ages have delighted. And this abstinence is a scarcely less remarkable trait of his method than the abstinence that we have just considered; for here, again, we note the suppression, and not the deficiency of passion. What a profound difference does this forbearance establish between his work and that of the most eminent English poets since the time of Spenser! Take away the poetry of animosity—the satire, lampoon, epigram—from the writings of Jonson, Butler, Donne, Dryden, Swift, Pope, Byron, and to what a lessened compass would their work be brought! In Wordsworth no single poem of pure animosity remains. I for one, he seems to have said, have no calling or election to write about the hatreds of men. But though he more frequently keeps his blame for the evil deed, he attacks the wrong-doer on occasion. Thus he felt for Napoleon the almost inevitable English antipathy of his period. Byron, like Goethe, escaped sharing this insular hatred. Wordsworth not only hated but abused the enemy; his poems on the war glow with all the antipathy of a patriotic Englishman. He calls Napoleon "one man, of men the meanest too;" and in the sonnet, *Look now on that Adventurer*, he breaks out upon him with no uncertain feeling; he writes as if with the irritating scarlet before his eyes, the φοινικίδ' ὀξεῖαν πάνυ of Aristophanes:

> "Curses are his dire portion, scorn and hate,
> Internal darkness and unquiet breath;
> And if old judgments keep their sacred course,
> Him from that height shall Heaven precipitate
> By violent and ignominious death."

And here is a scarcely less passionate judgment upon Voltaire—a judgment in which patriotic, religious, and race antipathy combined have proved quite too much both for Wordsworth's equanim-

ity and for his critical perceptions. Speaking of the "Solitary," in whose retreat he finds a copy of *Candide*, he puts these lines into the mouth of the Wanderer; the Wanderer's opinions, as we know, are substantially Wordsworth's own. He exclaims:

> "Beyond all poverty how destitute
> Must that man have been left, who, hither driven,
> Flying or seeking, could yet bring with him
> No dearer relic, and no better stay,
> *Than this dull product of a scoffer's pen.*"
>
> *Excursion*, Book II.

A long way, indeed, have we come in these lines from the Pitcairn Island temper! But they give us useful criticism on Wordsworth, if not on Voltaire. They show us the working of passionate dislike upon a critical mind; they show us the serene Wordsworth, the poet and critic who was distinguished above others by the great gift of self-restraint, whirled quite away from the footing of reason in a dust-cloud of tempestuous animosity, his seer's mantle flapping so wildly in his face that for a time he can see nothing clearly, not even the lineaments of his enemy. Wordsworth, from his own personal or British point of view, might have called Voltaire atheistic or immoral or profane if he chose; but from what point of view could he call Voltaire, of all writers, and *Candide*, of all things written, dull? In this blinding hate the sage Wordsworth not only loses sight of all distinctions, but his eyes are sealed to the object itself; his thought can no more keep a true course than a lugger beaten down by a squall of wind. And Wordsworth's animosity to Voltaire never abated, never blew over. From the first edition of the *Excursion* to the latest, Wordsworth's judgment stands in unchastened passion—that the author of *Candide* was "dull."

But it is in Wordsworth's prose writings, and in the records of his talk, that we shall oftenest find illustration of his prejudice and emotion. Many of his more heated sentences, indeed, have been dropped in the later editions; as, for instance, a fervent paragraph, comminatory of his earlier critics, with which he began the essay supplementary to the famous preface of 1815. This paragraph has not, I think, been reprinted with his works, and it will not be out of place to quote a sentence from it:

> "By what fatality the orb of my genius (for genius none of them seemed to deny me) acts upon these men like the moon upon a certain description of patients,

it would be irksome to inquire; nor would it consist with the respect which I owe myself to take further notice of opponents whom I internally despise."

Note the humor, as well as the passion, of this touch about the action of the moon upon "a certain description of patients." The common notion that Wordsworth was quite devoid of humor is a mistaken one. This was another of the faculties which he held in systematic abeyance. We did not exactly lose a humorist in Wordsworth; I will by no means argue that he could have elected to be a comic writer. And yet he has left curious traces of a gift even in this direction. Take this account, for instance, of the fashionable pulpit orator of his time in London—then sometimes, it would seem, an unedifying personage. Wordsworth says:

> "There have I seen a comely bachelor,
> Fresh from a toilet of two hours, ascend
> His rostrum, with seraphic glance look up,
> And in a tone elaborately low
> Beginning, lead his voice through many a maze
> A minuet course; and winding up his mouth,
> From time to time, into an orifice
> Most delicate, a lurking eyelet small,
> And only not invisible, again
> Open it out, diffusing thence a smile
> Of rapt irradiation exquisite."—*Prelude*, Book VII.

Very clearly a caustic humor, by no means devoid of a certain irreverence toward the Established Church, was at the command of the pen that gave us this grotesque delineation. And Wordsworth would have given us more humor of the same sort had it not been for the controlling necessity under which he found himself, or fancied himself—the necessity, namely, of proving the seriousness of his purpose in poetry to the earlier critics who found him frivolous, and of asserting his personal and literary dignity to friends who might be shaken by the critics.

Wordsworth, indeed, sacrificed himself to dignity. Interesting testimony on this point is to be had. Haydon tells us in his Journals of 1821 that Wordsworth still thought it necessary, in conversation, always to be "eloquent and profound, because he knows that he is considered childish and puerile;" and he explains Wordsworth's "often egotistical and overwhelming" way in conversation by his failure to have won, in that fifty-second year of his life, the success that he felt he deserved. Contrasting his manner with that of Walter Scott, he adds: "Scott's disposition is the effect of

success operating on a genial temperament, while Wordsworth's evidently arises from the effect of unjust ridicule wounding an intense self-esteem." A not uninteresting picture this, of the strong man who "overwhelmed" his friends with serious declamation, in order to prove that Jeffrey was wrong in calling him frivolous! A broader and clearer spirit than Wordsworth's, it is conceivable, might have been content to await undisturbed, for an even longer period, the verdict of criticism upon his work.

In Wordsworth's prose, too, may be found more than one burst of passionate eloquence in behalf of the dignity of his art—as when, for instance, writing to Lady Beaumont (in 1807) he said: "It is an awful truth that there neither is nor can be any genuine enjoyment of poetry among nineteen out of twenty of those persons who live, or wish to live, in the broad light of the world." Other passages in a similar key might be cited.

Let us now inquire whether Wordsworth had the broader "passion of humanity." The Wordsworthians claim that he was a philanthropist, a humanitarian. Wordsworth himself claimed that the love of nature led to the love of man. The question is an interesting one, and it can be answered explicitly and finally, as I think.

The *Excursion* gives us Wordsworth's elaborated thought "on man, on nature, and on human life." It is his systematized creed. The *Prelude*, on the contrary, is a poem of confessions, of personal confidences; and the comparison of the two enables us to trace more than one discrepancy between the poet's doctrine and his practice of philanthropy. Does the love of nature lead to the love of man, as in defending his poetical system he claimed? Let us see.

Throughout Wordsworth's poems this precept or "love" is a favorite one. Thus in the *Excursion*, he declares that

> "We live by admiration, Hope, and Love;"

and again:

> "Life, I repeat, is energy of love
> Divine or human."

The self-contained and self-conscious thinker persuaded himself that he was eminently a lover of mankind, and that his system tended to produce a philanthropic frame in those who followed it.

And what was the process? By what transmutation did the love of external nature lead to the love of man? Wordsworth tells us that one was the direct consequence of the other; and we may dis-

criminate and trace the successive stages of this æsthetic conversion. Let us follow its processes by the light of the data given in his poetry.

The first stage of Wordsworth's sympathies, then, was that of natural childish selfishness, the love of "trivial pleasures," "the common range of visible things."

> "Objects hitherto the absolute wealth
> Of my own private being and no more."—*Prelude*, Book IV.

And during these early years, as he tells us, he was purely selfish in his sympathies:

> "Nature herself was, at this unripe time,
> But secondary to my own pursuits
> And animal activities, and all
> Their trivial pleasures."—*Prelude*, Book VIII.

Next came the higher love of nature:

> "Those incidental charms which first attached
> My heart to rural objects day by day
> Grew weaker, and I hasten on to tell
> How Nature, intervenient till this time
> And secondary, now at length was sought
> For her own sake."—*Prelude*, Book II.

Again,

> "When I began in youth's delightful prime
> To yield myself to Nature, when that strong
> And holy passion overcame me first,
> Nor day nor night, evening or morn, was free
> From its oppression."—*Prelude*, Book X.

And yet again:

> "Nature then was sovereign in my mind."

Precisely how long this passion dominated him we are presently told; the second stage of feeling was developed when

> "Nature, prized
> For her own sake, became my joy, even then
> And upwards through late youth, until not less
> Than two-and-twenty summers had been told,
> Was Man in my affections and regards
> Subordinate to her, her visible forms
> And viewless agencies . . .
> His hour being not yet come.
> . . . . . .

The world of human kind outweighed not hers
In my habitual thoughts: the scale of love,
Though filling daily, still was light compared
With that in which *her* mighty objects lay."—*Prelude*, Book VIII.

Lastly he describes a third or culminating period of his growth:

" A time
When Nature, destined to remain so long
Foremost in my affections, had fallen back
Into a second place, pleased to become
A handmaid to a nobler than herself."—*Prelude*, Book XIV.

In his lonely wanderings, he says, he began to feel distinctly

" A human-heartedness about my love
For objects hitherto the absolute wealth
Of my own private being and no more."—*Prelude*, Book IV.

Now the interesting thing, for the present purpose, in tracing this course of development in Wordsworth's sympathies, is to note that he ascribes each step in it, even the last, the love of man, expressly and solely to the influence of Nature. He is explicit upon this point, and we are able to satisfy our curiosity as to the very details of this extraordinary conversion. From an early age, as we have seen, the tendency was humanizing:

" My thoughts by slow gradations had been drawn
To human kind, and to the good and ill
Of human life; Nature had led me on."

And elsewhere he says:

". . . First I looked
At man through objects that were great or fair:
First communed with by their help."—*Prelude*, Book VIII.

And it was with the Cumbrian shepherds, we are told, that he "first communed," seeing them "roam the hills;" for him, he says:

" That noticeable kindliness of heart
Sprang out of fountains, there abounding most
Where sovereign Nature dictated the tasks
And occupations which her beauty adorned,
And Shepherds were the men that pleased me first."
Prelude, Book VIII.

Is anything in English poetry more curious than this rather reluctant "human-heartedness," which consents to be pleased with shepherds first of men—this "*noticeable* kindliness" now first felt—as

if the young Wordsworth had never known sympathy before? But let us read one more extraordinary passage which fully describes the rationale of his conversion to human sympathy:

> "When up the lonely brooks on rainy days
> Angling I went, or trod the trackless hills
> By mists bewildered, suddenly mine eyes
> Have glanced upon him distant a few steps,
> In size a giant, stalking through thick fog,
> His sheep like Greenland bears; or, as he stepped
> Beyond the boundary line of some hill-shadow,
> His form hath flashed upon me, glorified
> By the deep radiance of the setting sun;
> Or him have I descried in distant sky,
> A solitary object and sublime,
> Above all height! like an aerial cross
> Stationed alone upon a spiry rock
> Of the Chartreuse, for worship. Thus was man
> Ennobled outwardly before my sight,
> And thus my heart was early introduced
> To an unconscious love and reverence
> Of human nature."—*Prelude*, Book VIII.

How beautiful that is, but how insubstantial; as reasoning, how fatuous! Was it ever seriously argued before that men are lovable because they are picturesque? I would not undervalue benign teaching for a want of logic; but it seems to me that this position, that the love of nature leads to the love of man, shows a clear lack of intellectual seriousness. The love of nature does not lead to the love of man; on the contrary it leads directly away from it, at once by secluding and isolating the devotee, and by occupying him with quite another order of ideas than those which belong to human or social affection. No; the love of nature is an exquisite luxury, an exquisite refinement; but it is an utterly self-regarding refinement. The humanitarian who would kindle a kindly flame for the general benefit of man, the *παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας*, must live among men and not among the mountains; for when he goes into solitude he leaves behind him the main stimuli and the main opportunities of philanthropy. All that he will find in the wilderness is freedom from the contentions and competitions of men; and under those circumstances it is easy to mistake, as Wordsworth mistook, the exemption from contests for an endowment of "love." One feels this lack of the real spirit in such a poem, for instance, as that of the *Gypsies*. In this he says of those other wanderers, uninformed by

any poetical method, who lie prostrate on the ground for long hours beneath the moon, careless of her beauty:

> "But they
> Regard not her.—O better wrong and strife,
> Better vain deeds or evil than such life!"

Landor thus comments upon the passage: "What! better be guilty of robbery or bloodshed than not be looking at the moon? . . . The philanthropy of poets is surely ethereal." Now these lines were published long after the poet's alleged humanitarian conversion—when he was thirty-seven years old; and though in a later edition he qualified the passage, changing old lines and adding new ones in explanatory response to Landor's criticism, still he does not convince us that his conversion was at any time a profound one. Clearly it was not to any "noticeable kindliness," or to the "love and reverence of human nature," but rather to the reverse of these things, that we see the poet tending in the lines just quoted.

Nor is my argument quite completed yet. In what I will further bring against the doctrine that the love of nature leads to the love of man, I trust that I may not be blamed, either by the Wordsworthians or others, for unfitting personality in the argument. For I am myself a Wordsworthian, though not an unqualified one; and I know too well the real ground of his greatness to recall in any petty spirit some of the way-side talk about the man, the criticism of reminiscence, that I have chanced upon in the poet's own country.

Seventeen years after the death of Wordsworth I was straying in the Lake district of Cumberland and Westmoreland; and it occurred to me to ask some of the people whom I met—poor people who had been his neighbors—how they remembered him as a neighbor. I was interested in their way-side criticism; after so much valuable literary criticism as we have had on Wordsworth, what these people have to say who have known him as their townsman, might, I reflected, be instructive too. I talked with several wayfarers who had known Wordsworth, but who had never, I presume, read any of his poems. One of them, an active laboring man of sixty-seven years, who had been in his employ, used these words: "Mr. Wordsworth was hard upon poor people; he was close in money matters. He used to tell strangers, 'We have no poor people here.'" And this positive critic added: "He was thought nothing at all of here, sir; but his sister [Dora] was better liked." At Grasmere Town-End, another of his homes, Wordsworth was spoken of more kindly; but

not in the ancient meaning of the word. It was with apologies at the best (one good woman mentioning his limited means), but not with affection, that his poor neighbors remembered him.

Well, this way-side criticism cannot go for much; it is scarcely gracious, perhaps, to recall it. We must not readily quote the valet against the hero. Yet one likes to keep his mind free to all the testimony that he may find, and even this gossip has its significance. Distinguished poets have not been wanting whose poor neighbors loved them. But it was evident that these dull neighbors of Wordsworth had not perceived in him, during all their years of neighborship and nearness, anything of what Mr. Matthew Arnold calls Wordsworth's especial gift and greatness—"his profound application of ideas to life." No; his poor neighbors remembered him, on the contrary, as a person of somewhat unamiable nature, a person who did not happily apply ideas to life.

No, Wordsworth had not the real "passion of humanity;" it does not appear in his poetry; it did not appear in his life; it does not seem to me that any one who will consider the evidence can find it either in one place or the other. Surely, if he had been a lover of men, some one of those poor neighbors would have remembered him otherwise than as being "hard on the poor." The claim of the Wordsworthians, the claim of the merely literary thinker, fails us here; it will not bear a moment's analysis. It is easy to love men when you do not have to deal with them, and Wordsworth's "love of man" was a purely literary and imaginative passion. Neither temperamentally nor by training was he in any sense a philanthropist.

Yet we need not require that poets should be philanthropists. One heart is not framed to contain everything; and, in point of fact, great lovers of men have not generally been great lovers of nature, nor is the converse any more frequently seen. Wordsworth was not especially a humanitarian. But he had his own sufficient endowment and calling; he had a poetic function that was not, perhaps, less important than that of "love." His poetry was the true gift of the desert to him, and not any propension toward philanthropy. In his pure seclusion he found exemption from many of the distractions and excitements of the outer world; and he mistook his peace of mind, his immunity from daily strifes, for the more positive quality of humanitarian love. How much beautiful doctrine has he given us respecting "love, divine and human!" But I am more easily convinced of his love for nature by the shortest of his poems

than by his longest of any ardent love of man. His own feelings, compared with those of the passionate lovers of humanity—the saints, the apostles, the martyrs—appears pale and unreal in comparison, the flame of a taper seen against the sunlight. We need not go to the lives of the saints, or to the journals of the missionaries, to feel this contrast. It is illustrated in the remark of a true literary man, that of Fénelon after his library has been destroyed by fire: "*J'aime mieux*," he said, "*que ma bibliothèque soit brûlée que la chaumière d'un pauvre paysan.*" There is the real humanitarian unselfishness which Wordsworth did not have.

And finally, as it happens, we may put our finger on a passage where Wordsworth himself distinctly confirms the insubstantiality of this so-called love. It is in the introductory lines of *Michael;* there he calls the story of that poem, as he heard it in his youth,

> "The earliest of those tales that spake to me
> Of shepherds, dwellers in the valleys, *men*
> *Whom I already loved;— not verily*
> *For their own sakes, but for the fields and hills*
> *Where was their occupation and abode.*"

On comparing the passage which I have italicized with Wordsworth's creed, as already indicated, I think we shall exclaim with Confucius, "How can a man be concealed? How can a man be concealed?"

But if there was a self-illusion in Wordsworth's philanthropy, its profession was, partly, a means of self-defence. Even in his retirement, Wordsworth was a man who had to justify his ways of living; his very seclusion and preoccupation did not go unsuspected. The rustics could not understand his habit of "roaming over the hills like a partridge;" and he had to leave Alfoxden, as Cottle tells us, because his landlord suspected him for a "criminal in the disguise of an idler." Wordsworth had, in short, to justify not only his poetry to the critic, but also his way of life to his friends; and this, in England, was best to be done by assuming even higher grounds in morals than their own. We have seen Wordsworth, in conversation, seeking to be "eloquent and profound, because he knows that he is considered childish and puerile;" and it was in a similar spirit of self-defence that the poet brought morality to the justification of his love of nature. It is now permitted to wanderers, whether poets or gypsies, to spend as much time as they will

in any given lake district; but we must remember that to Wordsworth himself it was not at first quite freely permitted, that he had to conciliate the social prejudices of his day. That was the task which Byron declined, and from which he fled in passionate revolt. Wordsworth, on the contrary, accepted the task of conciliation calmly, as befitted a country dweller, for in a country village social law is inescapable; and it was not long before he had shown himself a more orthodox moralist and a quieter townsman than many of his neighbors.

Nor need we find any unfitting spirit of compromise in this. Wordsworth's method of dealing with the world of Philistia was the opposite of Byron's method, the opposite of Heine's method; but it was a much better way to reach his ends. Prudence is the sourest name that we can justly give to it; and Wordsworth's prudence, his discreet acceptance of the narrow conditions, intellectual and other, of the society in which he lived, though to a certain extent it hampered his own mental growth, yet made him, at last, as potent an influence upon the Philistine, perhaps, as either Byron or Heine became. For Wordsworth is the only modern radical whom the British Philistine reads. Wordsworth has so far respected the proprieties in his writings that the Philistine actually goes to them with a view to his own spiritual profit; and even Mr. Matthew Arnold, a man who has long been making a most interesting effort, one in which we must all sympathize and hope, to disengage himself from Philistinism, finds that Wordsworth is eminently a teacher, and regards his work as being a valid "criticism of life," a "noble and profound application of ideas to life." Surely we are far from the truth in this. What was noble, what was profound in Wordsworth, was not his system of thought, his ideas. In these he had a provincial narrowness; from first to last he was inaccessible to the formative ideas of his time in the provinces of philosophy and science. What was noble and profound in Wordsworth was his feeling, his imagination, the passion of his strictly poetic faculty. If he did not express the strongest pulses of human emotion, his imaginative sympathy and passion are noble in their own kind.

This noble imaginative passion is felt at its best in Wordsworth's poems of *Ruth*, *Michael*, and *The Brothers*. By the simplicity, the directness with which they represent primitive feeling, they remind one of the Old Testament stories. They are less picturesque than the Old Testament stories; there is little color in them, little

action; they contain nothing so touching or so effective as, for instance, the scene in which Joseph makes himself known to his brethren. Are we to say, with the earlier critics of Wordsworth, that in the studious exclusion from his poetry of brilliant color, of flashes of surprise, of various incident, there was affectation? I think not; it was rather, as I have said, a clear critical choice that led him to prefer a simple and dignified form, and in his themes the quiet toils, the unambitious characters, the less dramatic passions and experiences of the men that he knew. And not merely these, but even the passions of sub-human life interested him,—the lamb fallen into the force, the skylark and the redbreast, the joy of the daffodil's "jocund company," the mystery of the cuckoo's "wandering voice." Preferring themes like these, it was not strange that he dealt undramatically and unepically with human passion, that he so commonly disjoined it from the action which properly belongs to it, which indeed helps to make the passion, and to make it communicable, and which finds ardent expression in less strictly controlled temperaments than Wordsworth's. But a certain latent passion, an undercurrent of actual human warmth, informs all of Wordsworth's best work, as it informs all good poetry; without that passion it could never have touched us. Take the noble poem, for instance, of *Michael.* Nothing could be simpler than the setting of the story; the shepherd's rude and laborious existence, his own and his family's ceaseless industry, their piteous misfortune, the son's departure from the gray home and the quiet life of the parents to be lost in the outer world—these form the sober framework of a story which in Wordsworth's telling becomes deeply pathetic; it is pathetic because the passion recorded was real, and because the art with which the poet has told it was equally genuine. And in the poems of *Ruth*, *The Brothers*, and many of the shorter pieces written about the year 1800, the same classic qualities are strong—the same elemental fervor and dignity of feeling, the same direct simplicity of expression.

We have now seen evidence enough to make it clear that there was no temperamental lack of passion in Wordsworth. Whether he turns upon his critics and denounces the tastes or the distaste of them and their times; whether he gives us glimpses of his loves and hates; whether, as in the *Excursion* he exposes "Popery" and the "Papists," or declares that Voltaire is "dull"—Wordsworth appears in no doubtful light; he appears as a man fully endowed

with his share of individual passion and feeling, saturated with local and race prejudices—even with religious prejudices, which, although by nature he was a radical, he fostered in his maturer years. But in his poetry passion glows rather than flames; it is a spark that you watch, expecting to see it spring up presently in clear tongues; but how seldom is it an outleaping flame! It is rather the persistent latent heat which gives forth its hidden store long after the flame has died away. But this more temperate glow came from no original deficiency of feeling; it came from his life-long method, his ordered restraint of feeling in his work. His prejudices he did not control, and did not seek to enlighten. In matters outside of his art, Wordsworth remained throughout his eighty years the most insular of Englishmen. He mastered his passions. His prejudices mastered him; and these dominant prejudices were the marring of the intellectual side of his work. But his strength of will, the fortunate and happy condition of his life, the cool mountain air in which his spirit drank repose, all combined to give him an even unduly perfect mastery, for a poet, over the spontaneous and ardent elements of his nature. Over these he triumphed even too completely in his art. But the batteries of emotion were constantly playing in Wordsworth's spirit; and if they gave out the pale spark of the current in the exhausted receiver, it was because he dwelt in the rarefied air of the mountains. If his passion often produces but an auroral glow instead of the veritable *furor di poesia*, it is because he mastered his passion with characteristic will, a will such as no other English poet has possessed.

Neither by his breadth of thought, nor by his treatment of life can Wordsworth take place with the great modern poets. He did not venture to express the deepest conviction of his intellect, he effaced or hampered his gift of passion. To general human sympathy he cannot, like the great modern poets, appeal. Yet what beauty, what noble tenderness, what joy in love, in childhood, in nature, has Wordsworth felt and perfectly expressed! Such are the poems to Lucy; such are many of the poems of childhood, especially the *Lines to H. C.;* such are *Ruth* and *Michael*, and indeed great part of the *Lyrical Ballads*, and such are many passages in the *Prelude*. Here, for the Northern reader, at least, is poetry without blemish. These compositions must retain, for us of Wordsworth's race, a charm which lies deeper than the charm of form; they have a vital beauty, they are the tenderest growth of the Northern spirit.

Only a Northern nature can fully feel their unutterable charm and magic. The snow-flake cannot endure the presence of the sunbeam, and so, we may imagine, these delicate crystallizations of Northern poetic feeling are unfitted for the pleasure of the more ardent Southern mind. That beauty of action, form, proportion, which Southern races seek in their art is often lost upon the Northern spirit; on the other hand, the subtle beauty that Wordsworth gives us does not always appeal to the intenser spirits of the South. But the truth and purity of the emotions that Wordsworth describes, the noble joy, the noble sadness that he has felt and made our possession, that like no other poet he carries "deep into the heart, like the sound of mountain torrents"—these are Wordsworth's gifts.

Let us not dwell upon what Wordsworth failed to do. It is impossible for us to be too thankful for what he has done. He has given us new joys. He has given us much that in its pure and tender beauty is, I will not say surpassed, but not approached in English poetry.

TITUS MUNSON COAN.

SPEECH: ITS MENTAL AND PHYSICAL ELEMENTS.

WITHIN the past few years, the study of mental processes has received a new impetus from the application of new methods of investigation. The old method of self-examination had revealed facts of great value and interest, but it had many limitations. It had analyzed the action of the mind from the subjective stand-point. It had classified the faculties. It had proven the self-evident, necessary, and universal character of the intuitions. But as to the relation of mind and brain it had given very little information. And this relation was the very subject about which interest centred, and questions arose. New methods of research were therefore demanded, and when at last discovered were eagerly employed. They approached the subject from a new stand-point. They concerned themselves especially with the interaction of body and thought. They studied the manifestations of mind in its various stages of evolution, in animals of lower or higher degrees of mental power. They watched the awakening into consciousness of the dormant human faculties in the process of education, during the first months and years of life. They observed with care the mental changes or defects which occur as the result of disease in the brain. In the hands of such scientists as Wundt,* Romanes,† Calderwood,‡ Preyer,§ and Meynert,‖ these new methods have advanced our knowledge of psychological processes materially, and have brought us nearer to the point of contact of mind and matter. It is the object of this article to show the application of these methods and to present some of their results; one of many mental processes being selected as an example, and technical terms being as far as possible avoided.

Of all the acts of daily life in which mind and body combine, there is, perhaps, none more interesting than speech. If one asks you a question, several distinct physical and mental processes are involved in the reply. You hear the words of the question; that is,

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* *Physiologische, Psychologie*, 2te Auflage. Leipzig, 1882.
† *Mental Evolution in Animals.* New York, 1883.
‡ *Relation of Mind and Brain.* Edinburgh, 1883.
§ *Die Seele des Kindes.* Leipzig, 1884.
‖ *Psychiatrie.* Vienna and New York, 1885.

the vibration of sound in the air sets in motion the delicate strings of your ear which, like those of an æolian harp, respond to the softest murmur. From the ear the motion, now changed into a nervous impulse, is sent along the fine nerve fibres to the brain. There it is received by a little pyramidal mass of gray substance—a brain cell—in which it sets up a molecular vibration. This is attended by a sensation, which, if sufficiently strong, awakens a perception and you hear the words of the question. But you not only hear, you understand it. For previous vibrations of a similar kind have left their trace upon the brain cells so that each differs from every other in having a tendency to respond only to a certain sound, not to all. The cell may be thought of as a tuning-fork always giving out the same note when struck and ready to vibrate in harmony with that note when it rings out from other instruments. The molecular vibration in the cell is attended, therefore, not only by a perception but also by a recognition of the words and a memory of their meaning. But having understood the question you frame a reply. You select certain words which will express your thought and pronounce them. That is, a set of nervous impulses is sent out from the brain by an act of the will. These pass down a strand of nerve fibres to the throat, where they set a mechanism in action, which stretches the vocal cords, makes them vibrate, and to the outgoing sound gives articulation and intonation.

It was not in the ear that the sound of the question was heard. It was not from the throat that the answer issued. It was in the brain that the transition from vibration to thought and from thought to vibration occurred. It is, therefore, to the brain that we must look for the mechanism of speech.

In the study of this mechanism researches into animal psychology cannot be of great importance. It is true that by means of gestures and cries animals give evidence of emotion, and probably communicate with one another. But this hardly deserves to be called speech. It will be of more service to employ other methods of investigation. A brief review of the manner in which we learn to use our own, or a foreign tongue, will put us in possession of certain facts regarding the physical and mental elements combined in the structure of words. And from these facts it will be possible to pass to some of those remarkable conditions which present themselves when speech is wholly or partly lost. The consideration of disorders of memory, which constitute the basis of disorders of

speech, cannot be presented without some discussion of the localization of brain functions; that modern theory about which interest still centres, and physiological psychologists are still divided.

In learning to talk, a child passes through three stages. In the first it acquires a knowledge of the names of objects. In the second it acquires the knowledge of the power of articulation. In the third it combines these two in the effort of conscious imitation of speech.

The names of objects are learned slowly. The object is seen, heard, felt, tasted or smelled, the arbitrary sound which we call its name is heard at the same time, and the two perceptions are associated in the mind. The memories which remain as traces of the perceptions are also associated. By repetition this association becomes at last so firm that the memories form together a mental unit, which may be called the word-concept. Thus a baby sees its mother's face, and after a time comes to recognize it, repeated perception producing what may be termed a permanent memory-picture. He also hears the pet name by which she wishes to be known, and after a time recognizes this when spoken, having then gained a memory-picture or mental echo of the sound. These two memory-pictures by association become so firmly joined, that when one is seen the other is brought to the mind, and then the baby is said to know his mother's name. The same process is involved in acquiring the name of any object or act. This stage of acquiring the names of objects precedes the second by several months.

The power of articulation, constituting the second stage, is acquired in a different manner. Acts of crying, which are at first reflex and unintentional or automatic, and sounds produced by forcible expiratory movements are after a time perceived by the child as his own acts; that is to say, the sensation of movement in the muscles, which is conveyed to the brain by the muscular sense, is consciously perceived and remembered. Spontaneous activity leads the child to reproduce the movement, and in this act it gains for the first time the perception of effort, which accompanies all voluntary motion. It retains the memory of this effort and uses it to guide future movements, each motion being thus registered as what may be termed an effort-memory. * But the perception of motion in the throat is ac-

* There seems to be no other term which can be used as an equivalent of the German words, *bewegungs vorstellung*, and *innervations gefühl*.

companied by the perception of the resulting sound, and, after a time, various effort-memories become associated with various sound-memories. When this association is so far fixed that one memory will bring up the other, the child has reached a stage when voluntary imitative sounds can be made. Modifications of movement in the lips and tongue then become possible, and the basis of voluntary speech, dependent, as is evident, upon the acquisition of effort-memories, is laid.*

Identical sounds are made by infants in all countries and equally by normal children and deaf-mutes, a fact which proves conclusively that the early sounds produced by the child are never the result of conscious imitation. The fact that deaf-mutes can be taught to speak establishes the conclusion that it is through the muscular sense, as well as by the aid of hearing, that the movements of speech are acquired.

Many of the unconscious automatic sounds, such as oh, ah, hi, fie, are preserved throughout life as interjections and exclamations, being produced largely in response to emotional excitement. Like gestures, they can be used as a means of communication between persons speaking different languages. Many of them are made use of in ordinary language as components of words, in which case they rise from automatic use into the higher mechanism of conscious speech. Before a child begins to talk intelligently these automatic sounds are used as a basis on which to build up conscious language, a definite number of repetitions of a certain sound being given as a name to many nursery objects. Mama, papa, dada, etc., are examples, and many children are called for years by nicknames whose origin can be traced to some such sound produced unintentionally, which has been selected by the nurse as a name easily and early learned. To the same origin it is possible that some of those words-roots, identical in and traceable through many languages, may be ascribed.

The acquisition of sound and effort-memories having thus laid

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*"Were the soul contained in a body that never moved spontaneously, whence would it get the idea that it was movable—that movements were of use? Evidently it is not only necessary that the body should move of itself in obedience to its own stimuli in order that the soul may take note of its capacity of change, and learn what impression motions make on itself, but no less necessary that the external stimulus should of itself with mechanical certainty excite in the body such movements as are adapted to protect life, to adjust a disturbance, or to satisfy a craving. While incapable of devising, the soul will be quite capable of improving the mechanism."—Lotze, *Microcosmos*, Bk. III., chap. iii., § 6.

what may be called a sensory and motor basis of speech, the third stage in learning to talk is soon passed. This consists in the conscious imitation of sounds which are recognized as indicating definite objects. The result of this process is the acquisition of a vocabulary whose parts can be arranged at pleasure in conveying thought. This is a distinct advance from the other stages, and when it is accomplished the speech education is complete. Perhaps no better illustration of this stage can be selected than is given in Dr. Howe's account of the way in which Laura Bridgeman, who was blind, deaf and dumb, was taught. The only sense which could be utilized in conveying knowledge to her was touch. He therefore attached to a number of common objects labels, on which the name of the object was printed in raised characters. After she had learned to associate each label with its object, a number of separate labels were put in her hand, and she was then encouraged to place each label on its corresponding object. After a time the separate letters were placed in her hand, and she was then taught to put them together so as to form the name of common objects. "Up to this," says Dr. Howe, "the proceeding was a mechanical one, and the result was only about as great as if one had taught a number of tricks to a clever dog. The poor child had sat there in mute astonishment and patiently imitated everything that was performed before her. But now the matter seemed to dawn upon her in its true light, her understanding began to exercise itself; she noticed that she now possessed the means of arranging for herself symbols of something that lay before her mind, and of showing this to another mind; immediately her countenance beamed with human reason; she could no longer be compared to a parrot or dog; the intellect now seized upon this new bond of union with other intellects. I could almost point out the moment at which this truth dawned upon her and poured light over her whole face." To the child this truth comes more gradually as the last stage in the process of learning to talk is passed.

The process thus followed in the infant can also be traced by any one who is learning a foreign language. For example: *Zunge* is a German word whose sound you hear and fix in your memory. Your teacher points to his tongue, or tells you that tongue is its English equivalent; and your first association with the sound is made. *Zunge* now means something to you when you hear it. The next step is to say it, and you make the attempt, and fail, because the sound of z

in German differs from that in English, and therefore you must acquire a new combination of movements of tongue and lips, by an effort, in order to give the word its proper pronunciation. When the exact motion has been learned by practice and fixed by repetition you have a new effort-memory which is associated with the sound and with the object which it indicates, and now you know the word.

Each word has, therefore, at least three memories involved in its structure; the memory of its sound, the memory of some other sensation connected with its perception, which gives meaning to the sound, and the effort-memory necessary to produce it. These memories associated together form a unit which may be termed the word-image or word-concept. If the word is a noun this concept is comparatively simple and there are few associations. If it is a verb or pronoun the associations are far more numerous: for example, "to cut" means much more than "a knife." Hence it is the nouns and simple verbs which a child first becomes master of; leaving pronouns and some other parts of speech to a much later stage. Thus children refer to themselves by their own names, rarely using "I" and "you" until some years after beginning to talk.

The study of the process of acquiring speech would not be entirely complete if reference were not made to written speech as well as to oral. In learning to write a word two new memory-pictures are added to the word-image. The first of these is the picture of the word as it appears on the printed or written page. The single letters having been acquired words should be learned in this manner to be recognized by sight. Spelling would then be rendered more easy of acquisition, the attention being fixed on the sight-memory of the combination of letters rather than upon the sound-memory, inasmuch as the former is in most persons the stronger. That this is the natural method is shown by the fact that most persons detect an error of spelling more easily when they write a word than when they name its letters, and instinctively adopt the former method of correction when in doubt. The second memory-picture added to the word-image by the act of writing is that of the combination of movements in the fingers and hand necessary to use the pen. This is an effort-memory like that of pronunciation, and when acquired is associated with the other parts of the word-image.

If we take an example of such a word-image and look at its parts the composition of the image will be more clearly seen. It may be

shown by the aid of a diagram. (Fig. 1.) The word *bell* involves a number of memory-pictures. There is one of the sight of the bell obtained through the eye which may be called the visual memory. Another of its tone received by the ear which can be termed the auditory memory. One of touch, which recalls the rough, cold surface of the metal, the tactile memory. Then the word bell as heard differs from the tone of the bell and is preserved in the word-hearing memory. Also the word as printed or written must have been per-

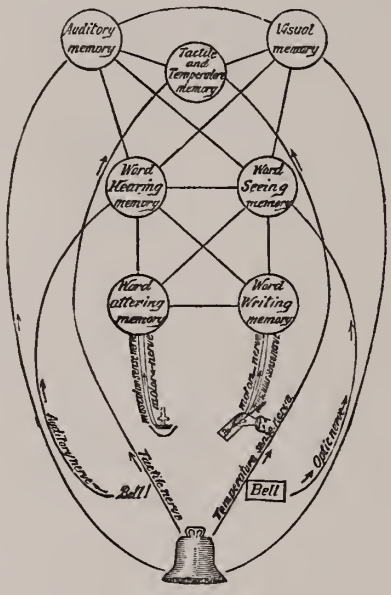

FIG. 1.

FIG. 1.—Diagram of the components of the mental-image "*bell*" (modified from Charcot's diagram—Bernard, *De l'Aphasie*). Each circle represents a different memory involved in the mental image. The memories are associated in the mind; hence the circles are joined together by lines. Each memory is the relic of a past perception which has been acquired through an organ of sense. The lines from the bell indicate the source of the perception. The organs of motion by which the word is spoke nor written are the mouth and hand.

ceived and stored in the word-seeing memory. Lastly, there are the two effort-memories connected with the muscular movement involved in uttering and writing the word. Let us represent each of these memories on the diagram by a circle. Each of these various memories is the relic of a past perception which has been acquired through an organ of sense. Each of the organs of sense can be shown, however, by anatomical methods, to be connected with its own region on the gray surface of the brain to which its sensations are sent and in which they are perceived. Therefore each of these

memory-pictures must be located in its own particular area of the brain. The diagram is therefore less fanciful, and more in accordance with an actual arrangement than it may have seemed at first.

The white matter of the brain, which lies beneath the gray surface layer, is made up largely of nerve fibres which pass between various areas of the surface and thus associate the action of different regions. It has been found that from any single region fibres pass to every other so that all parts can be brought into harmony. We may, therefore, join the circles of the diagram by lines which will represent these association fibres, and thus obtain an idea of the mental composition and physical basis of the single word-image *bell*. If now I show you a bell and ask you its name your visual memory is first aroused, then your word-hearing memory, and finally your word-uttering memory—three distinct memory-pictures rising in your mind in succession by the process of association. If, however, I merely ask you to repeat the word *bell* after me I arouse but two memories in succession, one the word-hearing, the other the word-uttering. The latter is a simpler process than the former and it is found to require only about one-half of the time; for the repetition of a word takes but one-fourth of a second while the naming of an object takes about one-half a second. The greater the number of memory-pictures called up by association the greater is the time occupied in the process of thought.* The more familiar the association the shorter the time required. An easy test of this is found in the act of reading or hearing a foreign language. The rate at which such a language can be understood depends on our familiarity with it. We do not at first realize when we hear a foreigner talk, and say that foreigners talk much faster than we do, that it is we who are thinking slowly; but such is the fact as actual measurements have shown.

The diagram may therefore be taken as in some sense representing the actual physical arrangement of brain cells and brain fibres which underlie the mental image of a single word.

But if this be true, and if these various memories lie in different regions of the brain it should be possible for disease limited to one region to produce a loss of one kind of memory. This brings us to the second division of our subject and necessitates the application of another method of research, viz.: the study of diseases of memory.

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* J. M. Cattell, "The Time it Takes to See and Name Objects," *Mind*, Jan., 1886.

It is to this method that the theory of the localization of functions in the brain traces not only its original suggestion but also its final demonstration. The review of some of these affections will therefore lead us directly to the consideration of this theory.

Every one knows that loss of speech is a not uncommon occurrence. It has been observed and more or less accurately described from the days of the Greek naturalists to the present. It awakened some general interest about twenty-five years ago when Broca, of Paris, claimed the discovery of a speech centre in the brain. Broca observed a constant association between destruction of the third frontal convolution of the left hemisphere of the brain and loss of speech, a fact which has been fully confirmed by subsequent observers. He drew, however, from this fact the unwarrantable conclusion that the faculty of speech was located in this region, a deduction whose refutation is not difficult if the picture of the word-image already given is kept in mind. The discussion of Broca's facts and theories was, however, the starting-point of a series of careful observations which have been continued up to the present day, and as the facts are being added to daily, it is now possible to take a much broader view and to reach wider conclusions than it was a quarter of a century ago.

It has been found that persons who suffer from defects of speech differ widely from each other, so that it is necessary to distinguish between a number of varieties of loss of speech.

1. There are some persons who lose the memory of words as heard, and thus are deprived of the power of understanding language. The words which you say to such an individual are heard, but are not recognized. They call up no concept. They awaken no associations. English to him is like Chinese to you, a mere succession of sounds without meaning. He is like the baby who has not yet associated its mother's name with her face, and who therefore does not know her by her name. He is like the pupil who has heard the foreign word but has no knowledge of its equivalent in his own language. Such a loss of sound-memories is appropriately called *word-deafness* or *sensory aphasia*. It is not accompanied by deafness to sounds, and the person affected is usually able to identify an object by its sound, for example, he recognizes the sound of a bell and associates the sound with the appearance of the bell, although he no longer knows the name bell and the word bell calls up no memory-picture. The condition is not necessarily accompanied by any defect

of other sensations or of motion. Yet it prevents him from speaking intelligibly, and produces indirectly a true loss of speech. For before a word is intentionally spoken its sound is recalled, and the effort-memory connected with its articulation and by which the pronunciation is guided is awakened through the sound-memory. If the recollection of the sound is impossible the effort-memory cannot be aroused intentionally. The person cannot say a word which he has forgotten; and he cannot talk so as to be understood because he cannot remember the words in which he wishes to express his idea. The effort-memories of articulation are, however, uninjured and all kinds of sounds can be clearly uttered. Their character and succession, however, cannot be regulated, and as a result the man talks an unintelligible jargon which he himself does not recognize as differing from ordinary speech. One such person was asked to read the sentence: "You may receive a report from other sources of a supposed attack on a British consul-general. The affair is, however, unworthy of consideration." He read it slowly and in a jerky manner as nearly as it could be taken down thus: "So sur wisjee coz wenement apripsy fro freuz fenement wiz a seconce coz foz no Sophias a the freckled pothy conollied. This affair eh oh cont oh curly of consequences." It was evidently an effort to read aloud, requiring close attention, and he read seriously and steadily, apparently unconscious of the absurdity of his utterances, till interrupted by laughter, which it was impossible to restrain. He was never able to write at dictation, but he signed his name quite well, and could copy accurately, though as he wrote each letter he would attempt to name it aloud, but always pronounced a wrong letter.*

This condition of word-deafness is produced by a destruction of a definite region of the brain known as the first temporal convolution. (Fig. 2, area 1.)

2. There are persons who lose the power of speech because they lose the effort-memories necessary to utter words. They can understand perfectly whatever is said to them, recognizing spoken language with all that it implies. They are perfectly aware of the import of a question and of what they desire to say in reply. They are anxious to convey their thoughts to others; but the combination of movements in the throat, tongue and lips which must be performed in order to utter words which are remembered, a combination ac-

* Broadbent, *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions*, vol. lv., page 162.

quired in infancy and preserved as an effort-memory, has disappeared from conscious use. The sound-memory no longer awakens the effort-memory because the latter is lost. The individual affected may attempt to talk but fails at once to enunciate an intelligible word, and, perceiving his mistakes, soon abandons the attempt and cannot be induced to break his silence, knowing that to speak is to expose his defect. He differs thus very markedly from the man who is word-deaf, and who chatters gibberish all day under the mistaken notion that he is entertaining his friends by enjoyable conversation. He suffers more keenly from the knowledge of his weakness, and is more liable to become morbid and melancholy. He is like a deaf-

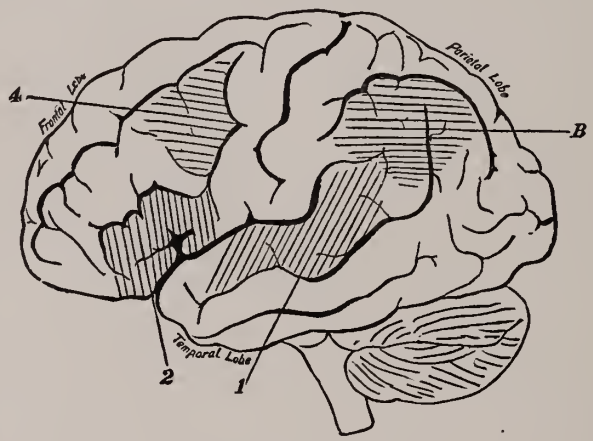

FIG. 2.

mute who has no knowledge of speech by the finger language, and who thus finds no way of communicating his wants except by gestures. Usually in this condition one or two words or phrases—for example, yes, no,—may be after a time regained, and these are used on all occasions in answer to any question in a way which is almost automatic. The probable explanation of such a survival is that one or two effort-memories have escaped destruction. But it is often the case that the word regained is the one just on the point of being used when the power of speech was lost. Thus Hughlings Jackson tells of a man struck down in a street brawl whose only phrase thereafter was "I want protection." And of another, a switch-tender on a railway, who at his post was struck by a passing train, and who always said "Come on to me," a phrase which Jackson thinks he may have been in the habit of saying automatically as the trains which passed his switch approached. The first words spoken by a lady who

had been seized with apoplexy while playing whist, and who remained unconscious three days, were "What is trumps?" One such person was an old man, whose family had all died save one son, the pride of his declining years, and the centre of his thoughts. He was suddenly deprived of speech but soon began to say "Aleck," the son's name, and that remained his only intelligent utterance until his death. An old lady in New York, who lost her speech when in middle life, recovered one phrase which was drolly appropriate, and on all occasions, and in reply to every question, she would reiterate in the most cheerful or sympathetic tones, as the occasion required, "Ah, dear me, I don't know." This was really the answer to the question "What is the matter?" which was asked her just at the time she was seized with the disease.

This condition is now known as *motor aphasia*. It is the form first described by Broca, and is due, as he showed, to a destruction of the third frontal convolution. (Fig. 2, area 2.) It is much more common than word-deafness—a form of aphasia of which Broca had no knowledge—but which it is now possible, as we have seen, to distinguish sharply from this form of loss of speech.

3. There are persons who have a peculiar affection of speech which differs from the two forms already considered and consists in an inability to command the words which they intend to use. They substitute one word for another, although they know the word which they intend to say, and have no difficulty in articulation. Instead of answering a question intelligently such an individual will reply in a long sentence, each word of which is a known word but out of relation to all the rest. Ask such a man, "what is this?" holding up your watch, and he will say "a key." He recognizes that it is a watch, for if you ask, "is it a key?" he laughs at you, and says, "no." He recognizes the sound, "key," which he has just said for watch, and his mistake amuses or annoys him. A man who was suffering from this condition was asked to name a playing card, the four of spades, which he had just been using in a game of whist. He answered promptly, "five of telephone." Oddly enough, in this condition it may be a certain class of words only which are misplaced. Nouns are the class the use of which is most frequently lost, and then the person will use the most roundabout phrases and long sentences to avoid uttering a word which he knows that he cannot use properly. One such person always substituted for scissors "that with which one cuts;" for window, "that through which one sees." Another

man who had lost his use of proper names and substantives in general, with exception of their first letters, prepared for himself an alphabetically arranged dictionary of the nouns required in his home intercourse, and whenever it became necessary for him to use one he immediately looked it out in his book. As long as he kept his eye upon the written name he could pronounce it, but a moment afterward he was unable to do so. A gentleman thus affected was found to be unable to say his alphabet or to count. He would begin a, b, c, and then say m, w, n, y; would stop in order to correct himself, and begin again, making the same mistake. In counting up to ten he replaced 4 by m constantly. Though a skilful accountant and perfectly able to add up a column of figures, he would put down a wrong answer, at once detecting his mistake, but writing every time a different figure from the one intended.

Doctor Granger Stewart tells of a man who failed to name the various objects held up before him, and to repeat some words which were said in his hearing. He was asked to say "no," and made a great effort, bringing many muscles into play in his attempt to do so. Then finding that it was hopeless, and, giving up the attempt, he shook his head sadly and said "no." By an automatic process he had uttered the very word that he could not produce by an effort of the will. A Scottish clergyman one day met a parishioner with whom he was familiar, and wished to address him by his name, but what the name was he could not remember. Thinking it best to be honest, he made up his mind to state his difficulty, and when the man came close to him he said, "Thomas, is your name John?" Automatically he had applied the right name while his voluntary effort had resulted only in an absurd question.

This condition is known as *paraphasia*, or aphasia of conduction. It is explained by the destruction of the association fibres which join the sound-memories with the effort-memories. The destruction of the brain is located in the Island of Reil, through which this tract of association fibres passes. (Fig. 2. Between area 1 and 2, too deep in to be shown in a cut of the surface.)

4. There are persons who suddenly lose the power of reading. The sight of printed or written words no longer awakens any recognition, or any association of the appearance of the word with its corresponding object or sound. They may see persons or objects about them perfectly well, and they look at the page of a book with interest, and usually with some curiosity, as we might look at an

Egyptian hieroglyphic or a Chaldean inscription. But the power of understanding written language is gone. One man who had suffered from this affection seemed at first unconscious of his actual condition. When asked to read he would make very elaborate preparations, putting on his spectacles and moving the paper or book backward and forward until he seemed to get it into a position where he could see well. He would then read aloud, uttering a few sentences which had not the remotest connection with anything that was before him on the printed page. He was handed a note which read as follows: "Dear Sir, I shall be much obliged if you will let me know whether or not you consider it likely that A. B. will recover." He looked at it carefully and seemed to glance it through, and then read slowly and deliberately, and without much hesitation: "Dear Sir, you are requested to bring this note with you the next time you come to the infirmary;" and then he added, "that is what I make of it; I don't know whether it is right or not." He often tried to read a newspaper aloud, and his wife said that he read "a lot of stuff all made up out of his own head." On one occasion she took the paper and read it to him. He was very quiet for a time, and then asked: "Is that what it says in that paper?" and when she assured him that it was, he said, "Well then, I must be an idiot." At that time he would remark, "I don't know what is the matter with the newspapers nowadays, they are filled with such silly stuff." Soon, however, he began to realize that the trouble lay in himself rather than in the papers, and then he gave up attempting to read.*

It is a curious fact that persons suffering thus often retain their ability to write, being totally unable to read what they have just written. Charcot tells of a man in this condition who suddenly discovered his defect one day, when, after finishing a number of important business letters, he took up the first in order to read it over and found that he could no longer read. The fact that he retained the power to write led Charcot to urge him to make use of this power in acquiring a knowledge of written language, and he was pleased to find that when with a pen or with the point of his finger he traced out the form of a letter, which by looking at he could not tell from any other, the right name at once occurred to him. He used his effort-memory of written words to reach the sound-memory, since the loss of the sight-memory

* Dr. Ross, "Aphasia," *Medical Chronicle*, Feb., 1886.

made the natural method of reading impossible. And as he was naturally more accustomed in writing to the form of written rather than of printed letters, it was noticed that it required a longer time for him to recognize the latter by tracing than it did the former. Oral speech was not in any way affected.

This condition is known as *word-blindness*. It may occur alone, as Charcot's case just related proves. But it is more often associated with word-deafness, a fact which is explained by the proximity of the area in which memories of words seen are preserved to that in which memories of words heard are stored. (Fig. 2, area 3.)

5. The last condition to be mentioned is agraphia, or the loss of the power of writing. The act of writing is regulated, as has been already shown, by a set of effort-memories connected with the movements of the hand and fingers. These may be lost although the most delicate motions of the hand are not interfered with, and therefore the condition is by no means the same as paralysis. A person so affected is also unable to copy. There are other effort-memories allied to the memories of writing which in like manner may be lost. A pianist or a player on any musical instrument may find his skill in manipulation, acquired by long practice, suddenly taken away. Various trades require skilful use of the hands, and persons whose subsistence depends on their work may be suddenly rendered penniless by the loss of the appropriate effort-memories. The term agraphia describes this condition when the effort-memories connected with the act of writing are lost. For the loss of these other memories a broader term is required. The brain area affected in agraphia is situated at the posterior extremity of the second frontal convolution. (Fig. 2, area 4.)

There are other forms of loss of speech which are not as fully understood as those which have been mentioned and which seem to be dependent rather upon a break in the association fibres than upon a destruction of the cells in which the memories reside. If the associations are broken but can be repaired, a recovery of speech may take place at any time, since the memories are not really gone but are only inaccessible. If the cells are destroyed the only method of recovery is by an entirely new process of education, and in many cases where the disease is extensive this is found to be impossible. Several of the forms of aphasia which have been described may occur together. In that case the disease is found to be extensive, and to involve several areas.

One interesting fact remains to be stated, viz.: that in right-handed persons the mechanism of speech is limited to the left half of the brain, injuries to the right half not being followed by loss of speech; while in left-handed persons it is the right half of the brain which presides over the process.

There is but one interpretation which can be given to such a series of facts as the study of loss of speech affords. The conclusion is evident that the various memories concerned in the formation of the word-image are located in certain definite areas of the surface of the brain; and that each is independent of the others but associated with the others by the fibres which join the various areas. This conclusion is in complete accord with the notion of a physical substratum of the word-image reached by other methods of investigation. It is based upon carefully studied facts, and does not go beyond the facts. We may, therefore, hold that the mechanism of speech is to be found in the surface of the brain, that it is a complex mechanism, and that all its parts must be intact in order that language may be employed. Each part of the mental process which we have so far followed by introspection has its corresponding physical correlative in the brain structure.

The limits of the different areas laid down upon the chart (Fig. 2) are not to be taken too strictly. It is evident on a moment's thought that the size of each area increases with every new word acquired, and that to learn a new language will nearly double each area. That the ability to acquire languages, which is so evident in some persons and so deficient in others, is somewhat dependent upon the development of the cells in these areas or upon their extent in different brains is not at all improbable. The marked inheritance of linguistic power in certain distinguished families, proven by Galton's researches, the limitation of mental growth by brain defect as seen in imbeciles, and the mental changes known to be produced by brain decay in lunatics all favor this supposition. Even in normal persons a marked diversity of action in the different areas may be noted which has much to do with the mental facility and disposition. It is said that when Legouvé and Scribe were asked how they divided the work of writing a play together, Legouvé replied: "When I write a scene I listen and Scribe looks. As I write each sentence the voice of the speaker echoes in my ear. The tones of the different actors vibrate as the words flow from the pen. For Scribe, the actors move about upon the scene, they act before his

eyes. I am an auditor: he is a spectator." "Yes," added Scribe, "you are right, for when I write my parts I find myself sitting in the middle of the parterre and looking at the stage."

We have considered but one of many brain mechanisms, whose study leads to the conclusion that the theory of the localization of functions is true. It would be possible to cite examples of the loss of various powers of sensation, or of motion associated with disease in other regions in further support of this theory. And the loss of memories other than those connected with speech has also been observed. Thus some persons lose all power of recognizing faces which they formerly knew quite well; or find themselves bewildered and lost in a city whose streets are ordinarily quite familiar; or are suddenly deprived of all musical talent by a disease which blots out the appreciation and recollection of melody and harmony. But enough has been stated to convince the unprejudiced reader that the theory is based upon facts as far as it applies to man. The various functions of the brain may be assigned to various parts.

The exact boundaries of these parts cannot yet be accurately determined. The facts seem to point to a gradual merging of one area into another rather than to any sharp division; so that while each region is distinct from all others in its centre, at its circumference it overlaps or invades the territory of others.* While strict limitations of functions to definite parts is unwarranted the general truth of the theory must be admitted.

It may be objected, however, that localization should not be accepted as proven in man until it is demonstrated in animals; and it may be urged that physiologists differ widely as to the results of experiments performed to test this theory. It is true that at present there are three distinct parties among the physiologists. Ferrier and Munk insist upon a strict demarkation of circumscribed regions on the surface of the brain, to each of which a certain function is assigned. Goltz, on the contrary, denies the possibility of any definite localization, reaffirming the statement of Flourens that the brain acts as a whole. Luciani and Exner occupy a middle ground, admitting, on the one hand, that each sense has a physiological relation to some definite portion of the brain, but allowing, on the other, that these portions may overlap one another and are not separated by any sharp boundaries. The last position seems to be gaining

* See NEW PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1886. Localization of Functions.

ground. And it agrees with the one reached from the study of disease in man.

The differences between the physiological parties seem irreconcilable, but are not necessarily so. The results of experiments on animals are open to many interpretations, and it may be fairly claimed that the differences between Goltz and Munk lie rather in their interpretations of the facts than in the results of their experiments. Neither of them has, however, emphasized sufficiently the difference between instinctive acts and conscious volitional action. And in this distinction is to be found, as I believe, the means of reconciling their opposing views.

Instinctive acts are automatic in their nature, are always performed at once in response to certain stimuli, are not the result of education, and are not in themselves conscious or voluntary; although they may become the objects of conscious perception. They are performed by certain nervous mechanisms termed *ganglia*, which consist of masses of gray substance lying in the spinal cord or in the base of the brain. The *cortex* of the brain, that layer of gray substance which lies upon the surface of the organ, and which is thrown into folds on that surface, has nothing to do with instinctive acts. Its functions are higher. It presides over conscious selective action. In it perceptions occur and memories are stored. It is the seat of intelligent action as contrasted with instinctive acts. Its integrity is necessary to any high mental process. The structure of the ganglia and the functions of the ganglia may, therefore, be sharply contrasted with the structure and functions of the cortex. When the acts of different animals are compared it becomes evident at once that instinct and intellect are correlative powers, that where one predominates the other is inferior.

In the lowest classes of vertebrates instinct seems to guide almost every movement, and it is even difficult to detect just what actions may be called intelligent. Thus a frog whose cortex is removed, can hop and swim, can eat and croak, and can balance itself on an inclined surface, preserving its equilibrium just as perfectly as one that has not been mutilated. It responds to every stimulus exactly like an ordinary frog, yet all its acts are performed by the ganglia and not by the cortex. The only thing that is wanting is spontaneous action. If undisturbed, such a frog remains where it is put, motionless, and will die of hunger unless cared for. The same may be said of birds.

In a higher class of animals instinct and intellect are more evenly balanced. In dogs, many acts, such as running, barking, following a scent or hunting, are instinctive and always follow when the proper stimulus is supplied. A pointer puppy will point as soon as he sees a bird, without any training. A Scotch terrier does not have to be taught how to seize and kill a rat. But these animals have intellect as well as instinct. They can be trained. Their instinctive acts are consciously observed by them and may be voluntarily imitated. You can teach a dog to give his paw, to sit up and beg, and to do many tricks in response to certain signs which he recognizes. These acts are conscious; they result from a perception of some sound or sign; they imply a previous training, and an active memory; and they are voluntary and selective. They are true, intelligent, cortical acts as distinguished from instinctive acts of the ganglia.

In monkeys intelligent action predominates over instinctive acts. The young monkey has to be cared for by its mother for some months, and has to be taught how to maintain its own existence. The majority of its actions are not of an automatic kind, are not performed with skill from the first, do not follow a definite stimulus, as in the case of the chick which pecks at a worm as soon as it is out of the shell. In monkeys it is almost as difficult to decide what acts are instinctive as it is in the frog to tell what acts are intelligent. In a word, cortical action is of far more importance than ganglionic acts.

The various physiologists whose views have been stated have limited their researches to the cortex of the brain. In all cases in which parts of the brain have been destroyed the ganglia have not been injured. Therefore instinctive action has not been impaired permanently, and if suspended at all, the suspension has been a temporary result of the shock of the operation. It was therefore to be expected that destruction of the cortical areas of the brain should have the effect of suspending selective voluntary action, memory and conscious perception, and this is certainly the result of experimentation in the hands both of Goltz and of Munk. But if instinctive action remains it is also to be expected that subsequently to the operation certain movements of an automatic kind might be made in response to stimuli. These should not, however, be ascribed to a recovery of cortical power, or confounded with voluntary acts. The lower the position of the animal experimented upon in the scale of life the less serious will the cortical destruction appear. In the frog, as we have seen already, it is difficult to detect its effect. In the dog the effect

will be more evident, but many powers will undoubtedly remain. In the monkey the effect will be far more serious, since his instinctive acts are few. It will not do to contrast the condition of the dog with that of the monkey, and because the dog apparently regains certain powers to claim that the same may be true of the monkey. Each animal in the series must be studied alone, or if a comparison is made, the great distinction between instinctive and intelligent acts must be clearly stated, and their relative importance in the various classes of animals under observation must be kept in mind.* In this way, I believe, the results of experiments may be interpreted in a manner which will not lead to such irreconcilable positions as are to-day maintained by the various physiological parties.

However these parties may differ it is evident from these considerations that their conclusions cannot be admitted to apply to man. If it is impossible to reach accurate results by comparing dogs with monkeys, it is certainly unwarrantable to reason from experiments upon monkeys as to the functions of the brain in man. If any conclusion is to be drawn it is that the higher the intelligence the more definitely localizable are the various functions. If any particular statements are made regarding the human brain they must be based wholly upon its study. As we have already seen the experiments of nature in the shape of disease point to the localization of certain functions of the brain in man. The conclusions of the psychologist are not therefore to be substantiated by the physiologist, but are to be reached by such investigations as we have here followed regarding the mechanism of speech.

There are some who ridicule the theory of localization by calling it "the modern phrenology." † It is always dangerous to make sport of facts. But these critics miss their mark. It is not claimed here, as by phrenologists, that mental faculties can be localized. In fact such an analysis as has been made of speech demonstrates at once that such a simple act as that of calling up the word *bell* involves an activity in a large number of different regions of the brain, and also the integrity of associating fibres which pass between distant parts. If such a simple act of memory demands the integrity of so many

* Goltz' conclusions are drawn largely from experiments upon dogs, while Munk has worked very largely upon monkeys, hence their conclusions are necessarily at variance. A similar distinction should be made between dogs of different kinds, some being far more intelligent than others.

† Goltz, *Deutsche Rundschau*, December, 1885; January, 1886.

parts, how much more is this true of the complex mental images which are involved in abstract ideas. So that it is evident that no one who is familiar with the true nature of the facts, as now ascertained, can point out a "centre of memory" or a "centre of speech."

Another objection is raised which requires more serious consideration. It is said that this interpretation of facts has a materialistic tendency, that such analysis resolves mental acts into physical processes. This rests, I believe, upon a misapprehension. No one certainly can object to the statement that brain activity conditions thought. The wearied scholar, whose studies lead to such an objection, disproves it when he throws his book aside for needed physical rest. But this does not imply that brain and thought are identical. If it has been possible to demonstrate a mechanism of speech in the brain it is only to discover a means used by thought in making itself known. The knowledge of the machine has not given us any clew to the nature of the motor power setting it in action.

We have gone on a step from our starting-point in the ear and the throat. We have not found anything more than a finer mechanism through which thought and motion become interchangeable.

As Lotze has said: "We are apt to estimate the thoroughness of our insight according to the number of details which in any investigation we have mastered; the more internal mechanism, the more intricacy our analyzing study finds in any object, the more completely do we believe ourselves to understand its nature and manner of working. We do not reflect that this multitude of connected parts but increases the extent of that which we have to explain, and that every link shown to intervene between the first cause and the last effect instead of solving only renders more complicated the enigma—how reciprocal action is possible between different elements."*

We began by tracing some of the steps in answering a question. The train of thought which the question started, the reasoning which led up to the reply, and the choice of the appropriate words are all mental processes which have not been touched upon, and which are not to be reached by such methods of research as have here been employed. It is important to keep in mind in all such studies, the necessary and logical limitations of the lines of investigation pursued. It is not warrantable to conclude that when the exact manner of activity in brain cells is ascertained that all the mysteries of the interac-

* *Microcosmos*, Bk. III., chap. i., § 3.

tion of body and mind are cleared up. Researches thus far in physiological psychology have resulted only in a more accurate knowledge of the agents used by the mind. If it is clearly stated that the object of such investigations is not to resolve mental action into physical vibrations, nor to eliminate mind from brain, the objection which we are considering must be withdrawn. The physiological school of psychology has shown great genius of investigation. It has approached the subject of the relation of mind and brain from a new stand-point. It has made many valuable discoveries. But like the older school of psychology it has its limitations. And just as that school failed to solve the problem of the relation of mind and matter from the subjective side, so this school has failed from the objective side. Each has its own methods; its own field of investigation; its own results. Neither can consistently deny the facts or dispute the legitimate conclusions of the other. Both must admit that the problem which it is their object to solve is still a mystery, and that the mutual relation of the mental and the physical forces of man remains unexplained.

M. Allen Starr.

THE SEVENTH PETITION.*

ONE of the most remarkable books in English literature is the version of the Bible made in the days of King James. Its forerunners are scattered all along a century. Its language, in dignity and simplicity, has a character of its own. It is English which never was the language of the court or the camp, of the universities or common life; and yet it has the air of being the rightful speech of every one who inherits the English as his tongue.

The seventh petition in the prayer, which a hundred years ago was uttered at least in New England by every child that was old enough to prattle, as the last office of the evening, was: Deliver us from evil. These words are comprehensive, full of weight for the ripened reason, and clear to reason in its dawning. Our new revisers have thrown aside this established translation, and, for the sublime words to which the whole English-speaking Christian world is accustomed, have substituted "Deliver us from the evil one." If the Greek words which the authors of this new rendering had before them required the change, they certainly were bound, as honest men, to do what they have done; but what judgment should be pronounced if they have disregarded the meaning of Greek words, as used in the Greek cities before the Christian era began, and as used in the New Testament itself, in those of its books which were written by the most accomplished masters of the Greek language to be found in that volume?

The authors of the old English version of the Bible considered the Greek words† which they translated "evil" as an adjective, meaning moral evil in its totality. This mode of expression is in accordance with the common, well-established usage of the best Greek authors who preceded the age in which Matthew and Luke made their records. We have an illustration of it in our own language. It is from the Greeks that we have translated the formula τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ καλόν, τὸ ἀληθές, into the good, the beautiful, the true, or good-

* The Gospel, according to Saint Matthew, chapter 5, verse 13; and the Gospel, according to Saint Luke, chapter 11, verse 2, in the Version set forth A. D. 1611, revised A. D. 1881.

† ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ

ness, beauty, truth. But the usage is not confined to these words; it was a common form of expression in the Greek language, alike among the poets and in prose. The word for baseness had the form of an adjective, *τὸ αἰσχρόν*. In the federal governments which were formed between Hellenic States, the adjective, *τὸ κοινόν*, standing by itself alone was enough to designate the federal treasury. This being so, it follows that by the usage of the only language which brings down to us this prayer, the words *τοῦ πονηροῦ* should be interpreted "evil" in its impersonality. It was the most general and all-embracing form of expression that could have been employed.

It may be answered that those who first heard the Lord's Prayer and first wrote it down in its briefness might not have been accurate masters of classical Greek; that Plato and Euripides used a form of language which was unknown to the hearers of the word. Let us then call in two witnesses from among the men who were either present to hear the Master teach the universal prayer, or were so well instructed that they were able to write with authority so that others might "know the certainty" of their narrative. Luke, in the forty-fifth verse of the sixth chapter of his history, expresses alike evil and good by a Greek adjective with an article according to the established Greek usage, "a good man bringeth forth good; and an evil man bringeth forth evil." A more apt illustration to show that the clause in the Lord's Prayer, translated "Deliver us from evil," is rightly translated, cannot be required; and this time the new revisers in their version, like the men of 1611, acknowledge that the words, which they both translate "good" and "evil," are impersonal.*

The second writer who shall be cited is Paul, a native of Tarsus, which was famous for its wealth as a commercial city, and likewise famous as a seat of learning and philosophy. He was the great teacher of Christianity, especially to those whose mother-tongue was the Greek—a Calvinist, it may be said in passing, of the straitest sect, if there ever was one. In the most elaborate of his epistles he

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* *ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν.—Luke's Gospel*, vi. 45.

The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth that which is evil.

The version of the New Testament set forth A. D. 1611 and the revised version of 1881, where the Greek speaks of good and of evil, alike use the periphrasis, that which is good, that which is evil.

represents alike good and evil in their totality by Greek adjectives with an article.*

I will cite one more great name, and it shall be that of one who was present when the Lord's Prayer was pronounced for the first time. Of all the Apostles, the man of the simplest and yet the most philosophical turn of mind and the one of whom it is specially remembered that the Great Teacher loved him, was John. His gospel is the most wonderful book for popular instruction that ever was written. In the first of his general letters he makes the announcement that the whole world reposes in evil, or, as the version of the New Testament of 1611 translates it, in wickedness. Here we have examples of the use of the word in question to signify evil, as the revisers themselves admit, by Luke, the man of the world, by Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who spoke at Athens to the descendants of those who had listened with rapture to Euripides, and, as the theologians of 1611 believed, by John, who was the most copious of all the contributors to the New Testament.

The revisers of 1881 insist on making the Apostle John say, "The whole world lieth in the evil one," a form of expression which in English carries with it no meaning, until it is translated in the mind into the words of the version of 1611. But there lurks under the language of the revisers the philosophy of Zoroaster, which has no affinity with Christianity; it discards the conception of a supreme divine power, and acknowledges a personal force at work in the universe utterly evil in its purposes, a serpent on whose head no Saviour has placed his heel. It is giving up a universal religion, an eternal religion, a religion that dates from the beginning—the Christian religion—for a poor sort of philosophy, which believes in two warring powers eternally ajar, with no decisive superiority on either side.

If the inquiry needs to be pushed further, the Lord's Prayer itself should be studied in its unity, so that it may assist in the interpretation of its parts, and in a manner that will make them all in harmony with each other. The general principle, which is the life and character and charm of the whole, is humility; and humility is the virtue which sums up all virtues in itself. The first principle is, that whatever in man is good is the divine presence within him controlling his

* Paul to the Romans, xii., 9 ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν, κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ.

The English version again substitutes for this Greek brief and direct form of speech a periphrasis, as in the version of Luke vi., 45.

actions. Of the two words with which it opens, the appellation of Father combines most completely the idea of reverence with the idea of duty.

Next comes the complete subordination of the temporal life to the life of the soul. The principle of absolute equality is repeated in the words that relate to the mutual relation of man with man, his transgressions, and how they may be repaired. Then comes the longing for holiness; and the first entreaty is: Lead us not into temptation; the desire of absolute purity is heard in the second: Deliver us from evil. The supplicant must search the recesses of his own soul and seek there for the root of evil; and if he finds it there, he must be restless and unhappy until he can tear it out, root and branch, and gain peace with purity and justice. But, through our revisers, if their innovation is to be accepted, the prayer becomes the prayer of pride, of a man who attributes no weakness to himself; and, instead of looking into himself for the seed of the evil which he may commit, presents his own inward nature as in itself perfect, and needing no protection but from an outside evil one. In this way the prayer of humility becomes the voice of self-deception and pride.

It remains only to ask how has the world, for nearly nineteen centuries, understood the petition? The Greek of the two Gospels speaks for itself. The Vulgate, which is the first great translation of the New Testament made for the Latin world, rightly reads: *Libera nos a malo*, deliver us from evil; and this version is still read in all the Latin world which adheres to Rome. The learned and wise translators of the days of King James rendered the words correctly: Deliver us from evil, and they are followed by all English-speaking churches of every denomination. The rendering in the Douay Bible is the same; and so it is in the Bible, as translated by Luther. The whole world of Christianity—Catholic, Anglican, Episcopal, Lutheran, and Reformed—agree in the rendering: Deliver us from evil.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

EGYPTIAN MONOTHEISM.

RELIGION—if it be the binding of human beings to the Unseen Power of the universe—and Revelation, or the manifestation of His nature to men, must have been realities and phenomena through all ages of human history, and as definite and sustaining to the first savage who sharpened his flints in the tertiary period or the first cave-dweller whose mental faculties had grasped the idea of a cause, as to the saint of the middle ages, or the religious philosopher of the nineteenth century. The conceptions of the "fossil savage" and of the modern thinker would not be the same; but they would have great elements in common. Both would bow in unspeakable awe before the vast and incomprehensible Mystery behind the things seen, both would depend utterly on this Infinite and Unknown Power, whether manifested in one being or many beings; both would bend their wills to the eternal Will, or wills, and both would seek to guide their lives by what had been revealed to them of the qualities and purposes of the tremendous Being, or beings, unseen yet ever felt. The man of the flint ages would undoubtedly be capable of grasping but few, and those the simplest truths. But as his race gradually rose in the scale, its members would be open more and more to the higher divine influences which were ever acting around them, and attaining thus to purer and grander conceptions. Then from reasons which we cannot always explain,—perhaps connected with the freedom of the human will,—some branch or descendant of the savage race would arise which was peculiarly sensitive to these unseen influences which became inspired with moral and spiritual truths, and was especially open to inspiration from above. This tribe or nation has become inspired with religion and seems at once to make a great bound in spiritual growth. Truths are revealed to it which move men through all succeeding time, and lives appear in such a people, so controlled by these inspirations and so animated by moral and unseen powers, that the memories and the legends of them survive all other traditions, and never cease to console or to elevate or to purify mankind. On the other hand, other races appear in history—why, we cannot say—less open to the divine influences, and thus

manifesting them less, and tending toward a lower and more selfish animal life. Yet, among such races there are probably far more humane, sympathetic and spiritual lives, passed in obscurity, than human records ever describe. We know but little of the morals or religion of the remote past. What we do know, we judge of by tests entirely inapplicable, and interpret an ancient poetic symbolism by a modern and exact glossary.

It is a side-evidence of the spiritual inspiration of ancient or barbarous races that so many tribes of men in all ages have a tradition or legend of a moral benefactor of their race, who came from above, bore human ills, sought to scatter happiness and enlightenment among men, and perhaps perished at last in the struggle with evil on earth, to appear again among the stars, or to await his faithful followers in the region of the blessed. Even "sun-myths," subsequently attached to such traditions, would not disprove the substantial historical truth of the original story. Nor would the tendency of the human mind to frame its ideals in legends, demonstrate that no such ideal benefactors have arisen. The strength and purity of the feelings and practices which gather around such memories are perhaps the best test of their reality. Under a continuity of spiritual influences through all ages, such lives are natural and to be expected. And even if some of these be imagined, the ideal shows the moral forces working on the hearts of men and the truths which had here and there dawned on them.

The highest forms of spiritual thought and the purest ideals of religion would probably be developed in connection with a certain advancement of civilization or of intellectual life. And yet they would not necessarily follow mental progress. To the savage and unreflecting mind the conception of one Power behind the universe comes later than the thought of many powers, though even with the earliest religious beliefs will be a faith in one unseen Being who is greater than other similar beings. And it is perfectly possible that a healthful, independent roving tribe—like some branch of the Semitic race—much in contact with nature, and not corrupted by luxury, might be more open to the unseen spiritual influences, and thus reach a grander conception of the mystery of the universe, than some races much more developed intellectually and materially.

If we search human records for the most ancient civilization we unquestionably come at once upon the Egyptian. To the student among the Greek and the Roman races in their prime, the founders

of the magnificent temples and gigantic tombs in the valley of the Nile seemed as remote as they do to us. Indeed, it may with truth be said that the modern European and American student of archæology knows more of that antique civilization than did Herodotus or Plutarch. Whatever doubts may linger about the exact numbers of the Egyptian chronology, whether certain lines of kings were synchronous or successive, the general conclusion can hardly be questioned by scholars, that far back in the shadowy ages of the past, thousands of years before the first dawn of Greek culture, centuries before Moses or Abraham or the received dates of the Flood, a remarkably organized civilization and highly developed religion existed in the lower Nile valley, shut apart from the world, though destined to influence all countries and all succeeding ages.

Till comparatively recent years the modern student was under the double misfortune of knowing the Egyptian religion only through a symbolism utterly foreign to our mental habits, and then through Greek and Roman interpreters. If the reader will imagine so strange a calamity as that the Christian religion had utterly perished from the earth in the fifth or sixth centuries, and that its documents had been hidden or destroyed, and it could only be known through its symbolism and art, and through Greek and Latin historians, we will have some slight appreciation of our relation to the Egyptian religion.

In such a case as we have supposed, we would have learned from the noblest and purest Roman historian that this dead religion was a "detestable superstition;" from another that its followers indulged in shameful orgies of lust, and resorted to human sacrifice; from others among the Greeks of apparently the highest moral sympathies, living within fifty or sixty years of the death of its founder, we should not hear a word of its doctrines, or its marvels, or the wonderful life of its originator. From its symbolism and art students of archæology would have inferred as to this extinct faith that its central deity was an aged man with flowing locks, of noble and venerable countenance, that it worshipped also a goddess of fair appearance with a wonderful child, that it believed in a marriage of this divinity with a higher deity, and also that it adored a sad man of suffering who had been executed as a criminal. They would discover also animal worship in the adoration of the lamb and the dove, and in the figures of gods with the heads of the lion, the eagle, the bull, and the pigeon. They would detect, besides, the struggles of the good and evil principles in the pictures of gods of frightful aspect

contending with gods of benignant countenance, and they would find pictures of heaven which were merely the continuance of the familiar pastoral scenes of Italy and Germany.

No doubt, too, as time passed away and the facts and traditions connected with the life of the great founder of this religion had become vague and shadowy, solar myths would attach themselves to its incidents; the twelve apostles would become the twelve months, the day of nativity would be the day of the sun's return northward, the death would be an eclipse, and the name which this supposed god gave himself, the "Light of the World," would indicate the solar origin of the story, and his resurrection would be the emerging of the sun from the deep shadow, and the life and light which follow it.* It would require but a brief time and little imagination to attach a solar myth to the Gospel narrative provided the facts had become obscured.

When Herodotus visited Egypt in the third century before Christ, or, when Diodorus wrote of it about the time of Christ, or Plutarch gathered the legend of Osiris from Egyptian sources within seventy or eighty years after, the Egyptian religion was a thing of the remote past, at a greater distance from Herodotus or Plutarch than these are from us. The ancient faith had degenerated into extreme polytheism, or idol worship, except among those initiated in its "mysteries," and there was only a tradition or vague impression among other peoples of the purity and grandeur of the belief of the early Egyptians. The excessive and peculiar symbolism of this race served also both to hide their real conceptions from foreign races and gradually to degrade their own beliefs. Close observers like Herodotus saw clearly that they believed in the immortality of the soul, and others, that they looked forward to a coming moral judgment. Their faiths in this great moral reckoning of mankind in a future life, no doubt influenced some of Plato's ideals pictured in his myths. The Jews may have derived certain spiritual conceptions and portions of ritual from them, and, no doubt, through Alexandria and the platonizing Jews some of their most ancient beliefs have reached the apostles, and thus modern times. But in general it may be safely said that we know much more of the ancient Egyptian religion than did the Greeks or Romans.

* The Christmas chant is well known, "Sol novus oritur," and the midsummer festival of bonfires to St. John, the Baptist. His words, "He must increase but I must decrease," might well have a solar interpretation.

In the remotest ages of human history certain dwellers in the Nile valley, perhaps gazing into the solemn depths of the tropical night, or watching the majestic courses of the stars, or seeing the sudden and resplendent rising of the glorious orb of the sun over the silent desert sands, received in awe-struck wonder the grandest inspiration which can come to the human soul from the unseen: even the thought of a POWER, illimitable, incomprehensible, eternal, behind all the phenomena of the universe, above and behind the varied personalities of mythology and polytheism; the ONE awful beyond expression, enduring while all things change, filling immensity and eternity, self-created, the one original, before whom was nothing, and in whose presence the earth and heavens are but as a morning cloud; "living in truth," * "truth itself," the essence of "righteousness," terrible to evil-doers, yet merciful, beneficent, full of love. Here to the ancient Egyptian was a being, vast beyond imagination to conceive, and yet inspiring and directing each believer, a being who lived in righteousness and demanded righteousness or "truth" of all those worshipping and loving him. Their wills must be submitted to his will. He guided and blessed them in life, and the happiness of eternity was to be in union with him.†

This dread invisible "concealed" being manifests himself through various persons or divinities. He creates through "Thoth," His spirit, or "word." Thoth is his manifestation as word or truth. He creates from himself through the word. Without Thoth is nothing made, and Thoth is God."‡

St. John (i., 1, 2, 3) describes the oldest Egyptian faith precisely. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that is made."

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* Words often used in the *Book of the Dead*.

† *Ibid*.

‡ Brugsch, p. 58. Of his own will he brought us forth by the *word* of truth (James i., 18). "I call to witness the *word* of the Father which He first spoke when He established the universe by His will" (Orpheus' words, quoted by Just. Mar., *Orat. ad gentes*). It should be said here, that the word "Truth," of such frequent and remarkable use in Egyptian religious writings, is expressed by a sign, meaning *rule* or *measure*: like our word righteousness. It means what is straight, conformed to rule and true; what is enduring, and harmonious, and real; what is good forever. The triumph of truth is the triumph of goodness. Truth is the end of man. The "justified" is the man held true and good. God is truth. Plutarch describes the amulet which protects Isis, as the φωνὴ ἀληθής, "Voice of truth" (*Peri Os.*, lxviii.), as if that were the favorite phrase of the Egyptians.

The word used for the original source of all things, Xoper,* according to Brugsch, means the cause of all being and becoming. This creates from himself through the word or Thoth, not from any "stuff" or things existing. "Hail to thee, creator, body of God who buildeth his own body when heaven was not, and earth was not."† Thousands of prayers are addressed to Xoper, "Thou wert first, nothing was then. Thou makest what is there." "Nothing was before thee, the Only or Self-born." "He was from the beginning, when nothing was." "The heart of Rā, the tongue of Tum, the throat of the god whose name is hidden" (Ammon), says Brugsch,‡ "all mean one God" and Thoth is the manifestation of that god as Word.

An inscription on the temple of Dendera proclaims the "Revelation of the light-god, Rā, being from the beginning (through) Thoth who rests in truth; what flows from his heart this works on, and what he has spoken stands for eternity."§

When these ancient inscriptions were chiselled in the granite near the Nile, before Moses or Abraham, the culture and religion of the Egyptians had passed from their low condition. Mighty buildings had been erected, demanding a remarkable knowledge of mechanical principles, a complex society was created and the faith of this race was developed from a belief in the heavens as god to a heaven-god, and again from a sun-god to one who said to the sun, "Come unto us!"‖

Philosophers note that these ancient Egyptian titles of deity do not in general take their origin from the heavens or the light, or from sensual images, as with the Aryan and other races, but are derived from deeper and more philosophic ideas of cause and origin and independent eternal being. In this they seem nearer the ancient Semitic Hebrew name of the Self-existent.¶ They are such as Xoper (being), Ammon (the Concealed), Rā (the Original), Ptah (artist), Xnum (builder or potter), Sebák (contriver), etc.

Only Osiris** (*os*, periodic force), seems to relate to the sun. But behind all these separate gods, is the One, unnamable, eternal,

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* *Relig. und Mythol. d. Alt. Aeg.*, p. 51—H. Brugsch. 1885. See also De Rougé.

† Brugsch, p. 58.

‡ Brugsch, p. 50.

§ Brugsch, E. Meyer—*Set Typhon.* 1875.

‖ *Book of the Dead*, v., 21: Words of creative power.

¶ Jahveh—I AM THAT I AM.

** Brugsch.

infinite. They all seem only forms, or manifestations, of the original being.* Before they could express it in language, the Egyptians possessed the intuition or felt the power of this boundless creator and father. From innumerable of the oldest documents, it is clear, says Brugsch, that to the ancient Egyptians, God and the universe were as soul and body. God was a spirit dwelling in his cosmic house which he had furnished and built.†

In analyzing the ancient belief of the priests, and thinkers, and artists of the Nile valley, we find everywhere the statements that God is ONE and alone and no other near him, the one who has made all. A Theban inscription says of God in his form of Ammon, "The concealed spirit, a mystery for him whom he hath created, is Ammon the ancient of days, who is from the beginning, the creator of heaven, earth, the depth and the mountains."

A remarkable hymn to Ammon Rā, thus invokes him:

"Author of the pastures which feed the beasts, and the plants which nourish man; he who feedeth the fishes of the river, and the fowls of the air; he giveth the bread of life to the germ yet concealed in the egg; he feedeth the flying and creeping insects; he provideth food for the mouse in his hole and the birds in the forests. Homage to thee, author of all forms, the ONE who is alone, whose arms extend and multiply everywhere; thou who watchest over rulers when they repose, who lookest for the good of thy creatures. God Ammon who preservest all that is! Homage to thee because thou abidest in us (or because of thy *immanence* in us). We prostrate ourselves before thy face because thou hast produced us. Homage to thee, by all creatures! Praise to thee in every region, in the heights of the heavens, in the spaces of the earth, in the depths of the seas. The gods bow before thy majesty and exalt the soul of him who produced them, happy that their creator abideth in them (or at the *immanence of their generator*) in them. They say to thee, 'Be in peace, oh father of the fathers of the gods, who hast hung the heavens and planted the earth. Author of things! Creator of blessings! Prince supreme! Chief of gods! We adore thy majesty at the moment in which thou producest us. Thou begettest us and we cry out to thee to dwell in us!'" ‡

Or again, take this ancient and lofty inscription of praise to Ammon Rā:

"Vast in his largeness without limit. Virtue supreme, in mysterious forms! Soul mysterious! Author of his fearful power, life holy and strong, created by

* He is the holy spirit who begets gods; who takes on forms but who remains unknown (*B. of D.*, xv., 46). The substance of the gods is the body of God (xvii., 75).

† Brugsch. The Egyptians frequently group these manifestations of the Original One in Triads. Thus, Xoper (being), Tum (the Unknown), and Rā make a triad. In the Boston Art Museum (No. 634) may be seen two sets of triad Egyptian figures—Ptah, Horus, and Keph; and Ptah, Horus, and Thoth. A Stéle of the XIX. dynasty speaks of God as "Father and Son," at Thebes and Memphis (*Rev. Arch.*, p. 357. 1860).

‡ Trans. by Grébaut—Mus. of Boulaq.

himself; brilliant, illuminating, dazzling! Soul more soul than the gods, thou art concealed in great Ammon! Old man renewed! Worker of ages! Thou who hast designed the world! O, Ammon, with the holy transformations! He whom no man knoweth, brilliant are his forms, his glory is a veil of light! Mystery of mysteries! Mystery unknown! Hail to thee in the bosom of Nun (celestial abyss). Thou who hast truly begotten the gods! The breath of truth is in thy mysterious sanctuary . . . Thou art adored upon the waters. The fertile land adores thee, the entrails of the wild animals are moved when thy bark (the sun) passeth by the hidden mountain. The spirits of the east congratulate thee when thy light shineth on their faces." *

Or this:

"Hail to thee, our lord of truth, Ammon, whose shrine is hidden, lord of gods, creator sailing in thy boat (the sun), at whose command the gods were made; Tum, the maker of men, who supporteth their works, who giveth them life, who knoweth how one differeth from another, who listeneth to the poor that is in distress, who art gentle of heart when a man crieth unto thee; thou who delivereth the fearful from the violent, who judgeth the poor and oppressed; lord of wisdom, whose precepts are wise, at whose pleasure the Nile overfloweth her banks; lord of mercy, most loving, at whose coming men live, opener of every eye, proceeding from the firmament, causer of pleasure and light, at whose goodness the gods rejoice, their hearts rejoicing when they see thee." †

Or in these ancient stanzas:

"Bringer of food, great lord of all things nourishing,
Lord of all terrors and of all choicest joys.

. . .

He filleth all granaries, he enricheth all the storehouses,
He careth for the estate of the poor.

. . .

He is not beheld by the eye,
He hath neither ministers nor offerings,
He is not adored in sanctuaries.

. . .

He wipeth away tears from all eyes,
He careth for the abundance of his blessings." ‡

As we have stated above, in our condensed resumé of the Egyptian belief, truth was held to be the essence and life of the divine being, as if only the Eternal and the Just could be true. God is held to be author of truth, and more than once it is said in the *Book of the Dead* that "the society of divine persons (meaning the divine manifestations), subsists by truth every day." But even with this

* "Hymn to Ammon Rā," trans. by Chabas—Pap. Hav.; *Rec. of Past.*; Trad. pap. Mag., Harris.

† Brugsch, and *Records of Past*, vol. ii., 131.

‡ Hymn, *Records of Past*; Birch, iv., 108.

austere idea of divinity, the Egyptian's heart melts when he thinks of the all-pervading love of the unseen deity. "His love is in the south," he says in impassioned prayer, "His grace is in the north, his beauty taketh possession of all hearts, his love maketh the arms grow weak. His creatures are beautiful enough to paralyze the hands; hearts break in seeing him; by his will he hath produced the earth, gold, silver, stone and the like." *

The sun especially is worshipped as a manifestation of this unknown Being. "Thy rays," says the worshipper, "come from a face not known; thou marchest unknown, thou shinest upon us and we know not thy form, thou presentest thy face to ours and we do not know thy body." †

That this exalted being was equally exalted in purity and spirituality is evident from a thousand inscriptions and documents. What is called the oldest manuscript in the world, "The teachings of Prince Ptahhotep," gives this instruction: "Be good to thy people for that is well pleasing to God." "Be not proud of riches, for the giver of fulness is God." "To obey, meaneth to love God; not to obey to hate God." On the doors of the temple of Edfu it is said: "God findeth his satisfaction in truth, he is propitiated by it, and he finds his pleasure in the most perfect purity." "God hath purity, dearer than millions of gold and silver offerings."

But the manifestation of the infinite spirit, dearest to the hearts of all Egyptians, and which gained an extraordinary power over the whole people, was that of Osiris. That most ancient of human documents, the *Book of the Dead*, which is a collection, running through many centuries, of prayers, invocations, and protecting spells, laid with the mummy to guard the dead in his perilous journey through Amenti, is almost one long prayer or ascription of praise to this gentle and blessed being. "He was appointed to reign over the gods in the presence of the supreme lord on the day of the constitution of the world." ‡ He is Truth itself—He is Love. "His heart is in every wound." § His especial name is Ounnofer, the essence of goodness. He is Lord of Life; Lord of Eternity, yet a human mother hath begotten him. "Oh, Osiris, thy mother hath begotten

* "A Hymn to Ammon Rā," v. 7—*Rec. of Past.*

† *Denkmäler*, vi., 116.

‡ *B. of D.*, xvii., 70.

§ *Ibid.*, xvii., 69. This may be rendered: "His heart is in every bloody sacrifice," but the idea is the same. The sacrifice of Osiris gives him sympathy with every human sacrifice. See De Rougé.

thee in the world. She hath called thee with a beautiful name. Osiris is thy name in the bosom of the spirits; Goodness thy name in the lower heaven; Lord of Life thy name among the living; . . . but thy (true) name is God." *

From assimilation with him, comes the perfection of being. † He destroys the great serpent, Apap, the embodiment of evil, "the devourer of souls." ‡ There appears through innumerable inscriptions and records in lower Egypt extraordinary feeling of affection and reverence for this remarkable being. "Gold is nothing compared to thy rays," says an impassioned worshipper; . . . "Thy transformations are like those of the celestial ocean. Grant that I arrive at the country of eternity, and the region of the justified; that I be reunited to the fair and wise spirits of Kerneter (Hades), and that I appear with them to contemplate thy beauties in the morning of every day." § But though subsequently becoming the sun-god, at that early period, he was above and behind the great luminary. He created it. "He saith to the sun, come unto us!" is the remarkable expression of the *Book of the Dead* (v. 21). "When the sun riseth," says another inscription, "it is by his will; when it goeth down, he contemplates its splendors. Hail to thee! whom thy name of Goodness maketh so great; thou, the eldest son, the risen from the dead. There is no god can do what he hath done. He is lord of life, and we live by his creation; no man can live without his will." ‖

The received myth of Osiris, it should be remembered, was gathered by a fair-minded and judicious Greek author several thousand years after the probable date of these early inscriptions and funeral records. And yet, if we strip Plutarch's narrative of its mythical and fanciful features, it presents a remarkable basis of probable fact.

At the birth of this extraordinary being, there were the omens which often precede in reality or imagination the birth of the earth's benefactors. A voice was heard announcing that the lord of all things had stepped into light.¶ (ὡς ἁπάντων κύριος εἰς φῶς προέιδεν.) As king of Egypt, he raised up his subjects from a

* Pap. 3148—Cat. des Man. Egypt.
† *B. of D.*, viii., 2.
‡ *Ibid.*, xxxix., 9; xv., 7.
§ Stéle of Boulaq, Mus. No. 72. Mariette.
‖ Mariette. Not. et prin. man., p. 304.
¶ Plutarch: *Peri Is. kai Os.*

wild and miserable mode of life, taught them agriculture and the arts of civilization, accustomed them to laws, and taught them of the Divine Being who had created and who sustained them. His presence was a continual charm to men, and his influence was not exerted through violence but by persuasion, music, and oratory. His sweetness and good will carried him beyond the bounds of nationality, which then held people so closely from one another, and the story is related that he went from one country to another, calming passions, softening savagery, bringing the good news of human brotherhood and devotion to God. War ceased in his presence, there was no need of arms (*Ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὁπλῶν δεηθέντα*), and his sweetness and the persuasion of his words and music turned all hearts. These benevolent expeditions weakened his power at home, and, on returning to his kingdom, he was defeated by the spirit of evil (Typhon) and killed, though not yet thirty years old, but rose again, became the "first-born of mummies,"* and was made judge of quick and dead in the divine Amenti, or lower world.

The classical historian saw even at that late day that there were mysteries in this narrative which the myth did not explain, and which were known only to the Egyptian priests. He notes that they feel a certain horror at the Greek and Roman interpretation that Osiris is a kind of Pluto, and only reigns over the dead in the shadowy region of Hades. This feeling, of which the vulgar do not know the true motive, throws many people into trouble and makes them believe that Osiris, that god so lovely, so pure, lives really in the bosom of the earth and the abode of the dead. But on the contrary, he is as far as it is possible to be from that land; always pure and without stain, he has no kind of communication with the substances which are subject to corruption and death. Human souls, while united to bodies, and subject to their passions, can have union with the god only by feeble images which philosophy traces for their intelligence, and which resemble obscure dreams. But when, disengaged from their earthly bondage, they have passed to that abode, pure, holy and invisible, exposed to no change, then this god becomes their chief and king. They are, as it were, planted in him, contemplating without weariness that ineffable beauty which cannot be expressed or uttered by any language of men.†

* "First of mummies" is a not uncommon title of Osiris in Egyptian inscriptions.

† Plutarch. *Peri Is. kai Osir., civ.*

Plutarch holds Osiris to be the embodiment of love in the Egyptian religion, as Seti or Typhon was of the evil principle.

The ancient Egyptian litanies dwelt especially on Osiris as having come forth from darkness to light, as having risen from the sombre dwelling, from the mysterious under world, from the night, and with like figures. Others speak of him as one having gone forth from heaven, who offers a special sacrifice for sin.* A symbolic liturgy recalled all his sufferings and death; the whole land was in lamentation and mourning; and then, with the representation of his resurrection, came songs and shouts of joy. "Adoration to Osiris, who lives in Amenti!" says an ancient inscription, "to Ounnofer (Goodness), king of eternity, great god, manifested over the celestial abysses, and king of gods, lord of souls; he is the great one of heaven, king of hell, creator of gods and men. When we observe the duties he commandeth, we reign over sin, know evil, know ourselves." †

Another expresses the almost passionate love of the people for this great ideal:

"He judgeth the world, . . . the crescent of the sun is under him;—the winds, the waters, the plants and all growing things. . . . He giveth all seeds and the abundance of the ground, he bringeth plentifulness and giveth it to all the earth. All men are in ecstacy, hearts in sweetness, bosoms in joy, every one is in adoration. Every one glorifies his goodness, mild is his love for us; his tenderness environs our hearts, great is his love in all bosoms. . . . His foe falleth under his fury, and the evil doer at the sound of his voice. . . . Sanctifying, beneficent is his name; . . . respect immutable for his law. . . . Both worlds are at rest; evil flies, and earth becomes fruitful and peaceful under its lord." ‡

The dream of union with Osiris was the dying hope of all Egyptians. Almost every grave-inscription speaks of the deceased as having "passed over to union with Osiris, the high and holy." Though the sun-god, he is not identified with the sun. "He hath brought on the years of the sun-god: he lighteneth the day. He made the glory of the sun." "I have kindled the light," it is said of Osiris, in the *Book of the Dead*, "I have woven the path, strewn with stars."

The symbolism of the last great judgment for men, the "day of accounts of words," as the ancient inscriptions call it, is well known

* I am he who killed for thee the sacrifice of the ram of sins in the land of light (*B. of D.* Uhlemann, p. 158).

† Mariette. Not. et prin. man, p. 386.

‡ *Records of Past.* Birch, vol. ii., pp. 131, 408.

on the Egyptian monuments. The dead, the accused, is brought before the great judge of quick and dead, Osiris, who is clad in mummy clothes, to indicate his having risen from the grave. His face is sweet and grave, and he bears the shepherd's crook and the scourge, to express his two-fold character. The heart of the deceased is weighed against an image of truth by Anubis, "the director of the balance," who declares the balance satisfied by the deceased. Thoth (or *Logos*) registers the sentence, and the virtuous dead now is acquitted and united to his Lord. So intimate is this union that he is called by the name of the merciful judge; * he is Osiris "N," or whatever was his name in life, and is henceforth one with the Lord of Eternity.

The justified one says to the forty-two accusers or assessors, representing before the judge forty-two different sins:

"Oh gods, dwellers of the divine under-world hear the voice of Osiris N.! He has arrived near you. There is no fault found in him, no sin against him; no witness against him. He lives in truth, nourishes himself on truth. The heart of the gods is satisfied with what he has done—he has given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked. . . . There is no witness against him before any god."—*B of D.*

Then follows the well-known negative defence:

"I have guarded myself from holding godless speeches. I have committed no revenge in act or in heart; no excesses in love; I have injured no one with lies; have driven away no beggars, committed no treacheries, caused no tears. I have not taken another's property, nor committed murder, nor ruined another, nor destroyed the laws of righteousness. I have not aroused contests, nor neglected the creator of my soul. I have done no robbery. I have not disturbed the joy of others. I have not passed by the oppressed, sinning against my creator or the Lord or the heavenly powers." †

"I am pure, pure!" "He has reconciled God by his love (charity)." "He is with the perfect spirit; he is lord of eternity." ‡

The "day of the account of words" is, above all, a day of moral reckoning and purifying. "The destruction of the faults of the dead is made by the hands of the master of truth," says the ritual, "when he has wiped away the stain in him. Evil unites itself to divinity in order that truth should expel this bad element. The god who chasteneth becomes the god who strengthens superabundantly." §

The Egyptians above all things believed in the resurrection of

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* "He is called by my name." "For me to live is Christ." "I am Christ's."
† *B. of D.*, cxxv., 14–34. ‡ *Ibid.*, c. xiii. § *Ibid.*, cxiv.

the body. It was for this that loving hands laid so many million human bodies, preserved by careful art from decay, in the rock-tombs on the Nile, and in thousands of unknown graves. It was for this that "the kings and counsellors of the earth built solitary piles for themselves" (Job iii., 14.), made difficult of access, and trusted thus to bid defiance to time and change, and to permit the beloved ones to carry their vital organs into the shadowy land of the Amenti.

But despite this literal belief, it was not in the Egyptian faith the same corporeal frame, as in life, which the departed would take with him into the divine lower world. The divine spirit or word (Thoth) breathed new life and vigor into the body of the dead. He clothed it in the garment of truth—in external transformation. The body is purified and restored by the gods; it is no longer the old body, nor is it a new soul. The justified soul is restored to a purified body. This is clearly shown in the ancient book *The Breaths of Life.** The dead has passed through the same fate as Osiris, and now rises like him. "Thy word is truth, oh Osiris, against thy enemies." "The word of Osiris N. is truth before the great gods." †

These ancient liturgies—the *Book of the Dead*—from which we have quoted so much, call the day of death the "day of birth." The soul becomes master of fear and terror in the heart of men, of gods, spirits and the dead. It liveth for eternity. It doth not suffer "the second death" in Hades. No ill is done it in the day of account of words.‡ The dead seeth with his eyes, heareth with his ears. He is truth. § "Living, living is he who dwelleth in darkness; all his grandeurs live, living is Osiris N., who dwelleth among the gods." ‖ The dead will suffer no harm. He will be in the state of the original God. No bad thing will destroy him; he will not see the second death, he will eat and drink every day with Osiris, he will be living, he will be like god.¶ The mouth of no worm shall devour him.**

A new growth of life begins in his body, he is for eternity, and his flesh has vigor in the divine lower world through Thoth, who has done this for Osiris. †† "My limbs are renewed every day to contemplate thy splendor." ‡‡ "Thy rays, oh Osiris, in my face,

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* Trans. by DeHorrack, *Rec. of Past*, vol. iv., 119. See for amulets to preserve the dead, *Rev. Arch.*, 1862, p. 130.

† *B. of D.* Set. Typhon, E. Meyer, 1875, p. 14.

‡ *B. of D.*, cxxx., 28, 29.

§ *Ibid.*, cxxxiii., 8.

‖ Louvre, Pap. No. 3071—Devéria.

¶ *B. of D.*, cxxxv., 13, 14.

** *Ibid.*, clxiv., 16.

†† *Ibid.*, ci., 8.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, xv., 61.

pure gold is eclipsed. Incomprehensible is thy glory.* Give me a new heart in place of my heart, . . . give me my mouth to speak, my legs to walk, etc." "The dead is in peace, in peace!" †

At the close of the *Book of the Dead*, it is said of him: "He shall be deified among the gods. . . . He shall not be rejected. His flesh and bones shall be healthy as one who is not dead. He shall plunge in the stream of the heavenly river. . . . It shall be granted to him to shine like a star forever in heaven. . . ." ‡

Such was the picture, drawn in a few strokes of light over a dark background, which the ancient Egyptian drew in his imagination of the shadowy unseen that surrounded him as it surrounds us. He peered into the darkness which enfolded the unseen life then, even as now; he bade farewell to his beloved as he laid their bodies in the rocky tombs with the same agony, and anxiously questioned them, even as we do now, and like us he received no sensible whisper from the unseen. He gazed at the majestic and orderly course of nature sixty centuries since as we still gaze, and prayed as we pray for light from the source of all this.

More than the members of any modern race, the Egyptian lived in the life invisible. His grandest dwellings were for the dead. And we know now that his deep religious hunger and thirst were rewarded. The divine inspiration was admitted to the soul of many in that ancient people. It gained in part, at least, the grandest conception known to man of the true GOD. It sought to serve Him by lives of mercy, justice, and truth. It believed in a "day of the account of words." It trusted in a merciful being, even though a shadowy person, a manifestation of God's goodness, who had lived and died for the good of men. As this "son of god" (as he is called) rose again and became "the first born of the dead," so would the dead arise and meet him as judge. To be like him, and to be united to that sweet and perfect being, was to be the joy of eternity.

This faith, too, was in harmony with man's highest ideals. The purest morality and highest human sympathy were only the natural fruits of his relation to "the concealed" god and to Osiris.

Is not this ancient faith then a faint reflection of the light in a great darkness, shining to all men ages ago in the youth of mankind from the eternal light, even as now, but not received of men, for

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* *B. of D.*, xv., 8, 9. † *Ibid.*, cxx., 27. ‡ *Ibid.*, clxv.

men knew it not. Is it not a precursor of the brighter Light forty centuries later in Galilee?

Why did it depart and fade away? This is a question difficult to answer. We only know of this ancient faith through these very remote and imperfect records, inscriptions, and liturgies. These express its ideals and hopes and aspirations. Perhaps its followers never lived according to their creed. No doubt the revelation of Osiris was exceedingly vague and shadowy, and probably very soon converted into a sun-myth. How much of it was based on historic fact, no one can say. What we know is that this ancient religion was much encumbered with symbolism, and filled with strange and wild conceits. It lacked the simplicity and humility and reality of Christianity. It did not contain the wonderful humanity and sympathy of the teachings of Galilee. It did not reveal God as a father. It came, too, to a people, shut out from other races, who were trodden down under a relentless despotism and a most powerful hierarchy. It lived longer than Christianity has yet done, but was not adapted to other races, perhaps from its language—hidden from the multitude—and the mystery thrown around its teachings. The spiritual monotheism probably changed soon into pantheism, and in later times degenerated into polytheism and idolatry. The Egyptian race never even impressed the race of slaves under them—the Hebrews—with their most cherished belief—that in immortality. But no doubt the spirituality of the priests touched the mind of Moses and aided his divine inspirations.

On the Greeks and Romans these elevated views produced little effect—perhaps only coloring the ideals of their greatest thinkers; influencing Plato most of all. Through Alexandria they did possibly mould the thoughts and expressions of St. John, and have thus reached the modern Christian world. But this great Light which gilds the morning dawn of human history, and was so rich a blessing to so many millions of men, has completely faded away. We can merely trace its faint reflections in the papyri which the dead bore with them into the tomb and on the inscriptions (unread for centuries) upon broken shafts and crumbling pyramids.

Its truth alone lives in higher forms, and, as the *Book of the Dead* says, "is indestructible as the sun."

C. Loring Brace.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

AFTER Congress enacted into a law the so-called "Pendleton Bill," to reform the Civil Service, it was really curious to hear a great many quite intelligent men speaking as if the reform was thereby made an accomplished fact; whereas, in reality, the enactment of the law was merely a single, although a lengthy, step in the right direction. Many other laws, supplementary or original, remained to be passed both by the National and the various State Legislatures before it would be possible to consider the reform as standing fairly on its legs; and, in addition, there would have to be created and kept up a public feeling in its favor sufficiently earnest and vigilant to make public officials anxious to pay heed to it as well in letter as in spirit, and thus finally to bring about its observance as a tradition of political life; for even in this land, which so rightly prides itself upon its written National and State Constitutions, it is yet true that there are many political traditions and customs quite as binding in their effects as is statutory law. The great point was and is to get the mass of the people actively interested in the success of the principle; and as yet their interest in it is by no means as intense or intelligent as it should be. It is a very easy thing to lay the blame for our various political short-comings upon the politicians; but it goes without saying that in a government like ours the people themselves are absolutely and solely to blame. There is no class in the community so sensitive to the opinion of the public as is that class which is dependent for its existence upon the good feeling of the public. If politicians are really hostile to a measure they may delay its passage for a year or two or may hamper its working for a time; but it is a simple absurdity to suppose that they will for any length of time venture to oppose the wishes of the voters who elect them if the latter only have the intelligence to know exactly what they want and the determination to have their wishes carried out—two conditions not always fulfilled, however. The at times halting and slow progress of this reform is due partly to the fact that the mass of the people do not

yet see how much it would work for their real interests to have it brought into effective operation, and partly to the crude vagaries and antics of some of the well-meaning but impracticable gentlemen who pride themselves upon being its especial champions.

It must always be remembered that the prime object of the reform under consideration is to take the Civil Service out of politics. To increase the efficiency and honesty of its management is of secondary importance, for the public service is already, for the most part, conducted with integrity and efficiency, and with reasonable economy. In all these respects it would probably compare favorably with the public service of almost any foreign nation ; and at the time when the Pendleton Bill passed the Civil Service of the nation certainly stood uniformly higher, especially as regards honesty, than had been the case in time past. Public officers under President Arthur were, as a body, probably more efficient and certainly very much more honest than was the case under President Jackson. Constant rotation in office made a certain amount of waste and friction inevitable; but where each party keeps such a sharp lookout for all possible misdeeds of its political foes it is next to impossible for any very gross wrong-doing to take place without detection and punishment; although, of course, this does not hold true for sections of the country where the people themselves have a low standard of right and wrong. In some of the wards of our great cities, for example, it would be hard to say whether the voters really considered honesty in a public servant an especially necessary qualification or not; and there are certain country districts where the toleration and even admiration for what is euphemistically called "smartness" on the part of private individuals is extended to them also in their capacities as public men. But, on the whole, the mere business working of our public service did not show such crying abuses as would at all warrant the outcry for its reform.

What made the reform vitally necessary to the well-being of the nation was the fact that the public service had by degrees been turned into a vast political engine; and thus even good public servants had become in many cases formidable instruments for thwarting the will of the people, and for debauching political life. In old times, when the law of the sword prevailed, rulers soon learned the value of a standing army of hirelings; and in turn the rulers of to-day, accommodating themselves to the changed conditions, relied for the perpetuation of their power largely upon the

vast, well-organized horde of political mercenaries that were furnished ready to their hands by the system of appointing men to office under the State, not on the ground of merit, but for factional or personal reasons. In the State of New York those in government employ, either Federal, State or local, are numbered by tens of thousands; thus, according to the last report of the State Civil-Service Commission, the persons subject to their rules and regulations only are over fifteen thousand in number.* It hardly seems necessary to allude to the greatness of the evils, necessarily resultant from having so large a body of men to whom politics was a matter of private, not public, interest; and whose concern in any nomination or election was greater than that of the average citizen by just so much as a man's interest is greater in what affects him personally and immediately than it is in what merely affects him as a single unit among five million others. As already said, these twenty or thirty thousand office-holders were in the main fairly honest and capable men; but the inherent viciousness of the system under which they were appointed to and held office was such that it almost of necessity forced even a good appointee to be in matters political merely the subservient tool of the powerful political chief or organization (technically "boss" or "ring") to whom or to which he owed his appointment. The bulk of our citizens, doubtless, scarcely takes enough really intelligent and well-directed interest in politics; but the office-holder's interest was fairly feverish in its unhealthy intensity, and all his acts, whether in a nominating convention or at the polls, were shaped with hardly any regard to the effect upon the well-being of the community at large or upon the success of certain candidates or principles, but merely with a view as to the probable results to his own means of livelihood. Each office-holder thus looked at any great party question from an entirely false stand-point; it gradually came to be with him an ingrained belief that his position was one to be fought for and kept primarily for his own good, and secondarily for that of his faction, the advantage to the State being kept so entirely in the background as often to fade from sight; while in most cases the strong and perfectly healthy party-spirit which should be one of the marks of every American having blood and not water in his veins and capable of feeling any real emotions whatsoever, sank into a senseless partisanship as unreasoning as the devotion of the Byzan-

* 15,179.

tine mob to the green or blue factions of the circus. Thus the average office-holder, perhaps a most estimable man in private life, as a factor in the politics of the State or nation was actuated mainly by greed, and by a more or less servile fear of an individual or group of individuals, these two motives being flavored by a party-feeling about as intelligent as that obtaining among very young college boys who are members of hostile secret societies.

Incidentally, then, and in order to escape the clamorous accusations certain to be brought against him by his political opponents if he failed conspiciously, the office-holder was obliged to perform the normal duties of his office fairly well; but he knew that the prime qualifications were political ones; and it thus came about that he naturally was thoroughly familiar with all those intricate details of political management which in any canvass invariably precede, and usually determine the result of, the actual voting at the polls. In preparing for and carrying the original caucus, the primary at which delegates were chosen, and the convention wherein these delegates finally nominated a ticket, the office-holder was thoroughly at home, while the ordinary citizen was generally too busy with his private affairs to take part in these original struggles, which, although in reality of overwhelming importance, seemed to him unintelligible alike in their methods and their objects. Thus the average voter almost invariably succumbed when pitted against his far more shifty and skilful professional competitor in the preliminary work; and he gradually came to regard it as of no use for him to attempt to do anything more than to cast his vote on election day, in favor of his party if the professional politicians thereof had condescended to nominate a ticket with enough good names on it to bid for his support, and against his party if the reverse was the case and he was able to rouse himself to a sufficient pitch of indignation. Any man who has ever attended a political convention must have a most vivid recollection of the great number of delegates there present who were absolutely impervious to any argument as to the general fitness or even the political expediency of a certain course of action, casting their votes simply as certain men who had control over their future bid them; and to this unquestioning obedience (largely due to having seen the immediate and stringent punishment that had been visited by the powers that were, upon such of their former associates as had dared to resent in the slightest such dictation) they added knowledge and ready dexterity in regard to the

work in hand. In politics they thus literally paralleled the qualities of mercenary soldiers; they were well disciplined and bold, they unhesitatingly obeyed orders without in the least caring as to what the ultimate results of such obedience would be, and the chief virtue they recognized was absolute loyalty to the man or faction who fed them. They served the public, it is true; but the public neither gave them the positions wherein they earned their living nor yet had the power to take them away; and naturally they gave their fealty not to the public which as towards them seemed so inert, but to the politician upon whose all-powerful good-will their immediate well-being depended.

The great good to be expected, and in part already realized, by the enactment of the various National and State Civil Service Reform laws, was the immediate change wrought in the attitude towards politics assumed by the body of office-holders. The moment that the later ceased to depend upon political influence for their appointment to and tenure of office, they also ceased to take any greater interest in politics than was the case with their fellow-citizens in other walks of life. A clerk in a post-office or custom-house, whose means of existence depended upon the approval of some great party leader became the unreasoning and active political henchman of the latter; but when such a clerk once realized that he owed his place purely to his own capacities, he felt no more concern about politics than would a clerk in a banking house or broker's office. There thus resulted an immediate and great gain to the cause of political purity. Of course this gain was by no means as great as the fanatical champions of the reform announced. The subserviency and the improper motives of the office-holding clan formed but one of the many causes continually tending to the degradation of public life. To get rid of this one cause, did not in any way affect the various others which tended towards the same end; corruption, ignorance, demagogism and indifference are quite powerful enough to warrant us against the advent of a political Utopia, no matter how many Civil Service reform laws we pass and no matter how strictly they are obeyed.

But the gain is quite real enough to make us most anxious not to lose it. Of course every professional politician is absorbedly eager to break down the new system openly or to evade it secretly; and, unfortunately, in most sections of the country public opinion is too supine or too ill-informed to make us feel certain that these attempts will be futile. Though the laws were passed only because the legis-

lators supposed that public sentiment imperatively demanded them (and in most cases they were passed by legislative bodies whose records had hitherto been bad, and who where anxious to do something redeeming), yet in reality there can be no doubt that this demand was really urgent on the part of but a very small portion of the constituents; and though, on the whole, this portion grows a little larger year by year, and is in most places of a size and, above all, of an earnestness sufficient to make politicians somewhat afraid, it is as yet far from being able to completely overawe them. The average voter still needs to be educated up to the importance of the reform to him personally; and only by constant and incessant repetition will it be possible to drill into him the idea that through this means alone can he ever hope to become the arbiter of his own political fortunes, because by this means alone can he eliminate from political contests the "bread-and-butter brigade," and until this is done the ordinary citizen, to whom participation in politics is merely a duty, may count confidently upon seeing his influence completely swamped by that of the office-holder, to whom it is a life business. At present the average citizen is altogether too apt to talk as if the only good to be expected from the reform was the comparatively small, although perfectly appreciable, benefit it has done by improving the Civil Service itself. Moreover, many of its most prominent advocates seem at times to feel the same mental confusion on the subject, and their ideas show a curious lack of sense of perspective as to the importance of the different objects sought to be attained. The occasional talk about "class legislation" in this connection, both among the friends and opponents of the new system, affords an instance of what I mean. The whole crowd of big and little bosses have for some time howled that the change in the method of appointment would bring about the existence of a "privileged class" of office-holders, and this outcry made a good deal of impression upon that considerable portion of the community which has excellent intentions, but which is not addicted to the particular form of mental exercise known as thought. The accusation is so senseless that it is difficult to argue about it rationally; precisely as it would hardly be worth while to seriously discuss with Brother Jasper, of Virginia, his proposition that the sun moves round the world. To say that to appoint men to office in the public service when they have shown themselves fit for the position, and to continue them therein as long as they do well, will tend to create a "privileged class of office-

holders," is just as true as it would be to say that the custom universally obtaining among carpenters and blacksmiths of employing subordinates only when and so long as they do good work, has already resulted in the formation of a "privileged class" of skilled artisans. The old system of appointments most unquestionably did lead to the establishment of a caste in the community; it gave us a privileged class of rulers quite as likely to be drawn from the worst as from the best elements in the community. But the present system directly reverses this.

A funny instance of similar incapacity to grasp the real bearing of the reform has recently been shown by many of the reformers themselves; and, curiously enough, we have here also met the talk about a "class." This was in reference to the bills recently introduced in several legislative bodies regarding the admission of veteran soldiers and sailors to the Civil Service. These bills were of two kinds. One kind provided that such veterans could be appointed without examination at all; that is, by the old method. This kind was wholly vicious; it reinstated the old system as far as veterans were concerned, and would have inevitably tended to the appointment only of such veterans as were backed by strong political influence, or from whom important factional services could be expected. The other kind of bill, whether proper in itself or not, at least did not infringe on the principles of the reform, as it provided only that discharged sailors and soldiers should be appointed through the same competitive examinations and under the same rules as civilians, only that they should as a class have a certain preference over the latter. Yet about half the members of the various Civil Service reform associations were inclined to be quite as hostile to the second kind of proposed law as to the first. As an instance of this curious obliquity of intellectual vision, I may mention the case of a gentleman prominently connected with one of these associations, who actually wrote to me that he did not believe in any legislation for a class at all, but that he preferred the first of the two kinds of measures, if he had to take his choice, because he thought fewer soldiers would be appointed under it than under the second—this last being a statement which might or might not be true, and which was of no earthly consequence anyhow. Any change of the kind first spoken of would have thrown the Civil Service just so far back again into the arena of partisan politics, and therefore every Civil Service reformer was bound to fight it tooth and nail; but a change of the

second sort in no way whatever affected the principle of the reform, and did not bring the service back into politics in any shape. The main objection to it (aside from the fact that it would keep a large number of capable civilians out of office) was that it might somewhat impair the efficiency of the service; and even granting that this was the case, there were many most sincere Civil Service reformers who were willing to see a slight decrease of efficiency if it were caused by giving a preference in appointment to a man who to his own physical cost had served his country in the time of her need. However, there might well be good ground for individual difference of opinion on this point (and some of the bills even of the second class were most objectionable); but certainly it was much to be regretted that some of the reformers, as such, should have allowed their views of the real principles and objects of the reform to become so warped that they were unable to see the radical and absolute difference between the two kinds of proposed amendments to the law.

Our great object is to remove what may be called the political, or, perhaps, rather the politico-personal, equation from among the causes for appointment; in other words, to reduce the system of appointing down so that it becomes to a large extent automatic or self-acting. Of course this can only be done by the enactment of laws which shall probihit all parties equally from using the patronage of the public service to advance their private or political ends. It is of no use whatever to tie the hands of one man while leaving those of his opponent free. To elect now and then a public officer who will refuse to use his office for political purposes, without at the same time also passing a law to prohibit his successors from so doing, is absolutely useless; it hardly does even temporary good. In the prize ring it would not be of any use for one man to refuse to strike below the belt, while others were allowed to; unless rules were made disallowing all foul blows, on either side, the man who declined to take advantage of them would merely insure his own defeat without in the least benefiting the cause of fair play. It is a well-known monetary law that if debased coins are allowed to circulate freely they will assuredly drive out of use the coins that are of full value. In the same way, if there are no regulations to interfere, there will result a similar survival of the unfit in the political world. As long as it is possible to use public patronage for political purposes, those politicians making such use of it will inevitably in the end drive out the politicians who refuse to; and the only way to stop

this is to pass a law that shall bear on all parties alike. President Adams resolutely refused to allow the public service to be in any way used to advance his own interests; but there was no general law to prevent such use being made by his adversary, the latter not being troubled by any ultra-refined scruples; and so the only effect of Adams' position was to swell the majority by which Jackson beat him.

After considerable experience all those best fitted to judge have come to the conclusion that, on the whole, the system of competitive examinations is the one most likely to procure for the State capable servants, while at the same time taking the appointment and retention of the latter entirely out of the hands of the politicians. It is not pretended that this system of appointment is an ideally perfect one. The first thing to do, at any cost, was to get rid of the old method of political favoritism; and, on the whole, in spite of certain objections, the competitive system has been found to be the best substitute. What is known as the "pass" system of examination —that is, appointing any one the appointing power chooses, provided a certain minimum standard is obtained—is a complete failure, quite as bad as the old method; it is loudly approved of by professional politicians, because it can at the most merely make some slight improvement in the efficiency of the service, while leaving the latter open to every political abuse quite as much as before.

These professional politicians, of course, make it their special business to pick flaws in the competitive system. Their criticisms and objections, however, are wholly unimportant by themselves; but, unfortunately, quite a large number of private citizens do not yet realize how well the new plan is working; for it is working admirably, in spite of occasional instances to the contrary, which are not one-tenth as numerous as they would be under any other plan. The more debased class of voters in the great cities, mainly foreign in origin, often oppose the reform simply because they have a jealous envy and dislike of seeing public officers possessing qualifications they themselves lack; precisely as this same sodden mass of electors often prefer to vote for ignorant men of acknowledged bad character rather than to allow themselves to be represented by a man of ability and integrity whom they may by any chance suspect of believing himself to be in any way their superior. Many other men, of good standing, object to the competitive system because they do not see its necessity, reasoning by analogy that it is no more necessary in

conducting the affairs of a government than it would be in conducting the affairs of a bank. The answer to this is immediate and conclusive, viz.: that in no other business save that of the public government do we find two hostile parties, many if not most of whose members regard their own faction's well-being as paramount to any other consideration. If in a bank there were two parties continually struggling for the presidency or the control of the board of directors, and each relying for success upon the vote and work of the cashier, coupon clerk, book-keeper, messenger boys, and so on, the stockholders would take but a very short time to discover that it was absolutely necessary to have all these latter appointed in some other way than by the favoritism of men who would regard their business qualifications as of secondary, and their political capacities as of primary, importance. The average voter will in time get to realize that he has the same interest in the governmental welfare of the nation that a stockholder has in the affairs of a bank. A favorite criticism on the system is that the examinations are absurd and the questions asked too difficult and abstruse to be answered. Individual instances to this effect there may have been; but, as a rule, and in the overwhelming majority of cases, this criticism does not apply at all, and simply indicates wanton malice or complete ignorance of the subject on the part of the critic. Applicants for the positions of experts are, of course, expected to answer questions needing expert knowledge; but the examination of a large series of the questions put to ordinary applicants will convince any one that they merely imply on the part of the latter such knowledge as ought to be possessed by any intelligent American who has had a common-school education—and an unintelligent American without a common-school education has no business in the public service.

Not only is it necessary to have good laws, but it is also necessary to have them well executed; and this is especially so with the laws on this subject, where there has to be considerable latitude given to those who are to interpret and enforce them. Speaking roughly, these laws provide that all applicants shall be examined on a given number of points, receiving so many marks for each; all coming below a certain minimum standard are rejected forthwith; of those coming above the standard the three or four highest are certified to whoever has the power of appointment, and the latter chooses whichever of them he thinks best. Such are the usual rules, but they are now and then varied; and it can be readily seen that unscrupulous politicians

can easily vary them so as to practically do away with all the good they should accomplish. Thus by simply making the standard low enough and providing that all reaching it should be certified alike to the appointing officer we would at once get straight back to the old system in its entirety—pass examination, patronage influence, and all the rest of it. Yet this is actually what the governor of one of our greatest States recently advised its legislature to do. Any act on the part of any of our public men to construe and put in practise the law in this way should be carefully watched, and the author held to strict account at the next election. As yet, neither the men who apply under the law nor the officials who examine them really feel that the system is a permanent one and that it has come to stay. That the laws now on the statute-books will be repealed is not probable, nor is it likely that they will be much modified for the worse; but a sharp lookout will have to be kept on the officials acting under them for fear lest by degrees they so construe them as to entirely nullify their working.

Undoubtedly, as is always the case in working through any great reform, after the first burst of success there came a momentary reaction; we got caught in the undertow, and even now we have to struggle to keep where we are, without for the moment attempting to make another forward step. But so far we have gained a great deal and have lost nothing we have gained; we are now putting what has already been accomplished in such shape that it will be impossible ever to undo it. There is still need of a great deal of work and a great deal of watching; many supplementary reform laws (such, for instance, as the repeal of the four years tenure of office act), must be passed, and public officials must get to accept the system as one which they must at all hazards maintain. This will all be easily accomplished, however, when we can once wake up the great mass of voters—those whom Abraham Lincoln called "the plain people"—to the fact that the reform of the Civil Service is a movement of most vital and immediate importance to them; for until the Civil Service is taken out of politics, that is, until the innumerable minor officers of the Government definitely cease to have the control of our political machinery—until that time, I say, the boast of our people that we govern ourselves will remain falsified by the fact that, in reality, we have delegated our power to a horde of petty politicians, who govern us according to their, and not our, pleasure.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE FREEDMEN DURING THE WAR.

In 1861 there were many suggestive pictures in the neighborhood of our armies. For example: near a farm-house three miles west of Alexandria, Va., a handsome woman, a little darker than the ordinary Creole of New Orleans, tall, straight, healthful and active, presented herself at a picket-post carrying a lad of about two years. The child, enwrapped by one arm, had a darker hue than the woman, and his kinky hair, cut short, enveloped his round head with its unmistakable woolly dress. This woman and child were brought to the colonel commanding a brigade in that neighborhood. He was a kind man, and, seeing that the woman was terrified, he endeavored to reassure her of her safety.

"What do you wish?" he asked.

"Oh, sir, I'm a slave woman, and this is my child. Let me and my child be free!"

While the colonel was listening to the woman's plaint and entreaty another character appeared. It was a sallow-complexioned, poorly clad, white woman, of middle age. She said at once: "That there woman is my slave. I've always treated her well, and here she is! She has run off. Now, sir, you must send her back to me, for she is mine. She and the boy, they're my property."

Now the colonel was under stringent orders at that time not to harbor such property.

He was greatly puzzled. The white woman became angry at his hesitation, and used abusive language directed in part to him but mainly to her late slave. The tall slave woman pressing her child to her breast, and with her large eyes filled with tears, simply said, "Oh, my child! my child!"

The colonel finally decided the case. "There's your property, take it."

"But I can't take it. She is stronger than I. You must give me a guard."

"No," he answered, "I will not do it. I will never use bayonets to drive a poor girl and her child into bondage!"

Somehow that night, without the colonel's knowledge, the slave woman and her child found their way to Alexandria and thence to Washington. She and her child became free.

While this kind-hearted colonel, or his kinder soldiers, thus practically nullified his orders, there were other commanders on the front lines who more literally interpreted their instructions, and so hundreds of escaping slaves were returned to men and women who laid claim to them.

The Eastern Armies of the Union were in a great ferment on this subject of returning slave property. At every head-quarters heated discussions arose, often ending in anger. One party were loyal to the Union but fiercely denounced abolition and every measure which looked in that direction. Even Mr. Lincoln, the President, supposed to lean that way, was called "a mountebank"! "a consummate tyrant"! and what not. Another party said: "Rebels have no rights —we must hurt them all we can. We must confiscate their property and set free their slaves." A few extremists dared to declare: "God means us to free all the slaves. We will not succeed in putting down the rebellion till we set every slave free." This same spirit of controversy extended to the mess-tables and the camp-fires. The Middle and Western Armies, with less reasoning and open discussion, caught the fire of vigorous, unsparing war measures sooner than the Eastern. True, in Kentucky and Missouri many slaves were re-fettered after they had come within the Union lines. But very soon press and people, officers and soldiers, were there united, and with one voice said: "The slaves of men in arms against the Government shall be forever free."

What has been given above indicates the changing condition of public opinion. President and Congress studied the phenomena presented, noticed the gradual clearing of the skies, and in one way or another, by proclamation, or by timely acts of legislation, helped to drive away the remaining mists from mens' minds and hearts.

On March 3, 1862, Abraham Lincoln, had the satisfaction of approving an act of Congress which then became an additional article of War, an Act which silenced nearly all his opponents in the operating armies and made the hearts of all lovers of universal liberty rejoice. "Article—All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose

of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service."

Prior to this act of Congress, which was at best but a negative help to the fugitives, General B. F. Butler, in a letter to the Secretary of War, afforded a glimpse into some of the very camps and workshops where the forging of the implements of emancipation had begun. These perhaps, next to the premature bivouacs of John Brown, were more productive of agitation North and South, and more fruitful in speedy remedial legislation, than any others along the long line of division which our armies were already crossing. General Scott ordered four regiments and a half to leave General Butler at or near Fortress Monroe, and go to some military duty elsewhere. The best troops were chosen and sent. In consequence Butler's forces had to be withdrawn from Hampton, and the lines there abandoned. With much feeling he wrote: "In the village of Hampton there were large numbers of negroes, composed in a great measure of women, and children of the men who had fled thither within my lines for protection, who had escaped from marauding parties of rebels who had been gathering up able-bodied blacks to aid them in constructing their batteries on the James and York Rivers. I had employed the men in Hampton in throwing up intrenchments, and they were working zealously and efficiently at that duty saving our soldiers from that labor under the gleam of the mid-day sun. The women were earning substantially their own subsistence in washing, marketing, and taking care of the clothes of the soldiers, and rations were being served out to the men who worked for the support of the children. But by the evacuation of Hampton, . . . all these black people were obliged to break up their homes at Hampton, fleeing across the creek within my lines for protection and support. Indeed, it was a most distressing sight to see these poor creatures, who had trusted to the protection of the arms of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States in their enterprise, to be thus obliged to flee from their homes, and the homes of their masters who had deserted them, and become fugitives from fear of the return of the rebel soldiery, who had threatened to shoot the men who had wrought for us, and to carry off the women who had served us, to a worse than Egyptian bondage. I have, therefore, now within the Peninsula, this side of

Hampton Creek, 900 negroes, 300 of whom are able-bodied men, 30 of whom are men substantially past hard labor, 175 women, 225 children under the age of 10 years, and 170 between 10 and 18 years, and many more coming in."

Concerning these significant groups, the General remarks: "When I adopted the theory of treating the able-bodied negro fit to work in the trenches as property liable to be used in the aid of rebellion, *and so contraband of war*, that condition of things was in so far met, as I then and still believe, on a legal and constitutional basis. But now a new series of questions arises. Passing by women, the children, certainly, cannot be treated on that basis; if property, they must be considered the encumbrance rather than the auxiliary of an army, and, of course, in no possible legal relation could be treated as contraband. Are they property? If they were so, they have been left by their masters and owners, deserted, thrown away, abandoned, like the wrecked vessel upon the ocean. . . . If property, do they not become the property of the salvors? but we, the salvors, do not need and will not hold such property, and will assume no such ownership: has not, therefore, all proprietary relation ceased? Have they not become, thereupon, men, women, and children? No longer under ownership of any kind, the fearful relicts of fugitive masters, have they not by their masters' acts, and the state of war, assumed the condition, which we hold to be the normal one, of those made in God's image? Is not every constitutional, legal, and moral requirement, as well to the runaway master as their relinquished slaves, thus answered? I confess that my own mind is compelled by this reasoning to look upon them as men and women. . . . Of course, if this reasoning, thus imperfectly set forth, is correct, my duty, as a humane man, is very plain. I should take the same care of these men, women, and children, houseless, homeless, and unprovided for, as I would of the same number of men, women, and children, who, for their attachment to the Union, had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States. I should have no doubt on this question, had I not seen it stated that an order had been issued by —— substantially forbidding all fugitive slaves from coming within his lines, or being harbored there. . . . If the enforcement of that order becomes the policy of the Government, I, as a soldier, shall be bound to enforce it steadfastly, if not cheerfully. But if left to my own discretion, as you may have gathered from my reasoning, I

should take a widely different course from that which it indicates. In a loyal State I would put down a servile insurrection. In a State in rebellion I would confiscate that which was used to oppose my arms, and take all that property, which constituted the wealth of that State, and furnished the means by which the war was prosecuted, besides being the cause of the war; and if, in so doing, it should be objected that human beings were brought to the free enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, such objection might not require much consideration."

Soon after this letter, of date July 30, 1861, the word "contraband" appeared to be pretty generally adopted. It was made to cover the ever-increasing numbers of fugitive slaves who escaped from within Confederate lines; and was happily applied to men, women and children. But imagine the chaotic condition of society where masters escaped in one direction and the numerous slaves in another. Who shall describe the poverty and suffering that followed in the wake of large armies, ever moving to and fro over the fertile lands of the well-settled border States? M. Hippeau, the Minister of Public Instruction of France, looking on as the intestine war waxed stronger remarked: "Multitudes of men, women and children, flying from slavery, followed in the ranks of the Northern Armies, imploring aid from the soldiers and offering their services."

In 1862 some 15,000 blacks of all ages, clad in rags, with no possessions except the nondescript bundles of all sizes which the adults carried on their backs, had come together at Norfolk, Hampton, Alexandria, and Washington. Sickness, want of food and shelter, often resulting in crime, appealed to the sympathies of every feeling heart. The cries of suffering went up to the President and to the Halls of Congress. These soon resulted in temporary expedients for relief. These landless, homeless, helpless families flocking northward from Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri were for a time relieved not only by army rations, spasmodically issued, but they were generously aided by a vast number of "Freedmen's Relief Associations of the North," associations which drew their means from individuals and from the churches of our country and of England.

When the people through the Sanitary and Christian Commissions were pouring out their money like water for the benefit of fathers, brothers and sons in the armies of the Union, they also gave

liberally to establish homes of refuge, asylums for the children, and hospitals for the sick of the refugee whites and the refugee blacks. They went further and followed every advancing column, endeavoring to plant a school in a village or hamlet as soon as the column had permanently pushed beyond.

As the war progressed the number of fugitives ever increased, and all the woes of destitution and confusion were like great spring freshets; the springs and rivulets were full and swift, the rivers high and angry with the overflow; and the gulfs and bays into which they emptied though more quiet, were deeply moved, casting up mire and dirt from the very bottom. The surging masses of poor men and women flowed into the largest cities; and idleness and viciousness were fast infecting these gulfs and bays of humanity. The States which had remained loyal to the Union and to the Government were in great trouble. Slave-property became very precarious. Even loyalty became shaken, when thousands of dollars' worth of human chattels fled and disappeared in a night. For a time, as before noticed, some of our generals undertook to return slaves to so-called "loyal owners." An instance in point is given which occurred in Missouri early in 1862. An officer of an Iowa regiment brought to his camp some slaves who had given him valuable information. He asked for their freedom. The owner, a man in sympathy with the rebellion, soon came for them. But the Iowa officer favored the escape of the slaves. General Halleck then sent his soldiers in pursuit of the negroes. They were overtaken, one of them was shot and the rest returned to the disloyal owner, while at the same time the Iowa officer was placed under arrest.

This case was reported to Congress, and helped largely to set on foot a most important bill for investigation and other measures looking to emancipation. In the midst of the discussion, which was itself the excitant of advancing thought, many a representative made a record that would surprise him should he see it in print to-day. For example, one, a Northern man, avers: "That the bills before the House are in violation of the law of nations and of the Constitution. . . . He must be blinded with an excess of light or with the want of it who does not see that to this nation, trembling on the verge of dissolution, it (the Constitution) is the only possible bond of unity." Another asks with fervor: "Must these Northern fanatics be sated with negroes, taxes and blood, with division North,

devastation South, and peril to constitutional liberty everywhere, before relief shall come? They will not halt until their darling schemes are consummated." And another yet more pro-slavery, cries out almost in despair: "Sir, pass these acts, confiscate under these bills the property of these men, emancipate their negroes, place arms in the hands of these human gorillas, to murder their masters and violate their wives and daughters, and you will have a war such as was never witnessed in the worst days of the French Revolution, and horrors never exceeded in San Domingo, for the balance of this century at least."

These dreadful prophecies were never verified, though the famous Confiscation Bill, a bill which gave the President and army commanders the right to emancipate slaves in any insurrectionary district, did pass Congress and became a law July 17, 1862.

This law had in it an addendum, a pregnant clause of great importance, to the effect, that the President might use the negroes for the suppression of the rebellion in such manner as he might deem best for the public good.

Under this legislation of Congress, so favorable to the multitudes of fugitives, numerous colonies of them began to be organized along the Southern coast. Later on, we will notice some of them and how they were managed. For these, like the little colony on the *Mayflower*, became an incentive to further legislation, that humane, benevolent and timely legislation which has at last covered our statesmen with an imperishable glory. Practical, energetic and fearless, these men, giants in themselves, studied the new problems presented in the field of experiment, and then with God-given wisdom shaped the laws.

Our soldiers who were in bivouac or winter-quarters after the battle of Fredericksburg, will remember the terrible excitement which prevailed, particularly in the Army of the Potomac, when the remarkable preliminary proclamation of Mr. Lincoln reached them. It was like the call of Elijah to the men of Israel on Mount Carmel: "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve."

And the officers and men did choose. The pregnant phrases of that proclamation have a voice which still resounds pleasantly in loyal ears: "All persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, and thenceforth, and forever free."

This proclamation was published in connection with the two laws; first, the one against the return of fugitive slaves; second, the Confiscation Act, intended to punish treason and rebellion by seizing all kinds of property and freeing slaves.

But there was another step which Lincoln now ventured to take, a step which made all "conservatives" very angry. It was the announcement of his purpose to suggest to Congress in his next message an equitable method of abolishing slavery, not only in the insurrectionary States, but in the border States which had not succeeded in any formal secession, and among people, many of whom had thus far maintained the cause of the Union. How this action affected the army and the blacks may be illustrated by one or two occurrences.

More incautious than scores of others, an officer in the Second Corps was loudly talking to his comrades against the President and the General in command, declaring that he would never fight in company with the accursed abolitionists. He was surrounded by other commissioned officers, including the surgeon and chaplain. His soldiers were within hearing. Two prominent civilians visiting the camp heard the words and saw the growing excitement. They ran, almost out of breath, and reported the officer to his corps commander. The charge of disloyal language was preferred. He was speedily tried and dismissed from the service. For years this young officer, for he was quite young, sought in penitent sorrow to get a removal of that sentence but could not. In another regiment simply for tendering his resignation because "this had become an abolition war," a lieutenant was similarly tried and cashiered. Others ground their teeth in anger but kept still. Among those enlisted men who hated the negro except as a slave, there was an undercurrent of malice more or less active.

The First Minnesota Regiment of Volunteers was stationed near a cluster of trees not far from the Rappahannock. Its field officers rejoiced in the possession of a number of good horses. Among the refugees were several negro lads, fugitive slaves, who were employed to care for the horses, grooming them and riding them daily back and forth to the water. Among these was a mulatto youth of some eighteen years, of handsome figure, pleasant face and manners, and rather well dressed for the field. He appeared a little proud and pompous, especially when mounted on his employer's horse. One day, as he was riding as usual, certain soldiers, themselves foreigners,

were heard cursing him. One of them declared: "that scalpin of a black nagur shall never ride and have me walk, sure an there's good stuff in me rifle." Little was thought of the man's expression at the time, but very soon after this event, as the lad was passing the same point, sitting erect on his horse-blanket, a shot was fired, apparently coming from a group of soldiers. The lad was desperately wounded in the shoulder by the shot and would have fallen to the ground except for the quick action of a friendly neighbor. The Minnesota men carried him gently to their hospital where he was always kindly treated. He was visited by many officers of the Army. What was remarkable, no harsh word ever fell from his lips. He lingered a few days, and with forgiveness on his lips and joy depicted in his face he died. There was a long search made among the neighboring brigades, but the murderer could not be found. His comrades covered his crime. The death of this youth made a vivid impression throughout the large encampment. The young man was killed on account of his color. Many friendly voices began to murmur at such crimes, and with set teeth echoed the thought: *Slavery must go to the wall!* In the lad's death Christians were reminded of the martyr Stephen who prayed for his enemies, saying: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."

On the 1st of January, 1863, the promised Proclamation of the President was issued. This unique production exceeded the preliminary proclamation in intrinsic force and immediate effect.

Our conquests along the shores of South Carolina had enabled thousands of fugitives to come within the shelter of our arms. Already our officers had responded to the last favoring clause of the preliminary proclamation, and large numbers of the able-bodied among the fugitives had been enrolled as soldiers in the Union Army.

In his pictorial history, Lossing gives a remarkable picture of an oak grove which existed not far from Port Royal. These oak trees are immense, their lateral branches covering often a circuit of a hundred feet or more. It is said that the first tidings of the grand Emancipation Proclamation were read to a regiment of negroes in arms under one of those magnificent live oaks near the town of Beaufort.

The 9th of the following February, General Burnside made his lodgment on Roanoke Island, fought a successful battle, and secured

that stronghold forever against recapture. The battle was barely over when crowds of fugitives, most of them poor and ignorant negroes, came pouring in to Burnside's camp. It appears that a well-known artist, Vincent Colyer, who had already received attention and favor in the North as the originator of the Christian Commission for the Army, had accompanied the troops. He had come for the purpose of taking supplies for the sick and wounded soldiers, and as a representative of the Christian feeling and sympathy which followed the men in blue to new fields of exposure.

Very soon Mr. Colyer was set at work under the title of "Superintendent of the Poor." This was in February. In the ensuing March, after Newbern had fallen into our hands, he exercised the same functions for a time in that city. He wisely took a house for himself which soon became the centre and store of active benevolence. To all the able-bodied persons he gave employment as carpenters, blacksmiths, 'longshoremen, and laborers on the extensive system of earth-works. Many of them were sent out as secret scouts to go beyond the lines and return with information. Of the scores who went on such expeditions, there is no record of any who proved disloyal to the Union cause.

Evening schools were also established for the colored people. Nearly a thousand availed themselves at once of the privilege of attending. Our soldiers were allowed to become their instructors. The eagerness of the negroes—men, women and children—to get knowledge of books was a most remarkable fact.

In November, 1862, General Grant's Army extended south of Grand Junction, in Mississippi, for probably a distance of ten miles. Its work just then was to reëstablish its communications, repair the intrenchments at the Junction, and collect supplies.

While here an unexpected host came upon him. It was an army of "fugitive slaves" that swarmed in from the surrounding country and begged of the troops protection against recapture by the Confederates and, of course, required clothing, food and shelter.

In accordance with the law, as we have seen, these poor people could not be driven away from the army, but the Government had not yet provided any means for their support. It is true, a few, such as teamsters, servants, cooks and pioneers, could be employed by our officers, yet the vast majority of the fugitives would be, in spite of this fact, left to freeze and starve. General Grant, whose heart was always tender towards the needy, and who never failed in resorting

to expedients, introduced at once a plan for their relief. He first made selection of a proper officer, Chaplain John Eaton, Jr., of the Twenty-seventh Ohio, the same who later became a colonel of colored troops, and has, until recently, served the Government as Commissioner of Education. He was placed at the head of "Negro Affairs" for all the district then under General Grant's jurisdiction. The plan which the General conceived, and his officers and the Superintendent carried out, grew out of the existing circumstances. There were, all around Grand Junction, large crops of corn and cotton nearly ripe. It was determined to harvest these, send them North for sale, and place the receipts to the credit of the Government.

Immediately the army of fugitives was deployed to gather in the corn and the cotton, in which work even the children lent a hand. The Chaplain conferred with the General and fixed upon fair wages for the work of picking cotton and proportionate compensation for harvesting the corn. Under similar remuneration many of the men were sent to cut wood for the numerous government steamers on the river. After a proper inspection of their accounts, the money was paid for their work under orders by the Quartermasters, but not directly to the fugitives. The Superintendent, using this money, saw to it first that the negroes—men, women and children—had sufficient food and clothing; then he built for them cabins and provided for their sick and aged, and extended to them comforts which doubtless they had never had before.

General Grant in his book claims that this was the first "Freedmen's Bureau," a harbinger of that larger beneficent institution which Congress was subsequently to provide for the wants of the millions of the emancipated.

But it appears that the groups which I have mentioned at Roanoke Island, Newbern and Hampton were treated in a similar way by the commanders at those places respectively.

When the extreme want of the nine hundred who fled within our lines on the abandonment of the entrenchments at Hampton became known in the North, the Honorable Lewis Tappan corresponded with the General commanding. The General replied that he deemed it better for these fugitives to remain South, but that he would welcome anything that the Association which Mr. Tappan represented would do for them.

The Association (the American Missionary), which had already received other news depicting the extreme poverty and want of the refugees, despatched an agent to Fortress Monroe. He arrived the 3d of September, 1861, and was welcomed by all. It is said that the fugitive slaves declared that their prayers had now been answered, and that the good Lord had opened His arms to bless them.

At this time was established the first day school. It was commenced in a small house near the Female Seminary, which after the war became the attractive Home for volunteer soldiers. The first teacher was a well-educated free woman of color, who consecrated a short but remarkably beautiful life to the upbuilding of her people. About this time officers from the volunteer army began to be detailed to the superintendency of "Negro Affairs" in that department, which first included the small extent of territory within our lines and was gradually extended as those lines advanced northward and southward. Captain Horace James, Quartermaster of Volunteers, had for more than two years the charge of everything relating to the poor, black and white, within our lines in North Carolina. At first he grouped the refugees in several small villages, and attended to their industries and to their schools with wonderful ability and success.

It appears that at first two camps, numbering about two thousand people, were located outside of the Union entrenchments near Newbern. Suddenly, in midwinter, the Confederate General, George Pickett, with his enterprising division, made an attempt to retake the city. An eye-witness says: "Every man, woman and child from these camps came rushing wildly into town, and feeling as keen a sense of danger as if they had been actually returned by force to their old masters." The Commanding General succeeded in repelling the attack. He put the negroes into the trenches along-side of the soldiers, using as many as twelve hundred of them; and he complimented them highly for their conduct.

Immediately after this severe trial the several settlements were wisely consolidated into one within the lines. Lots were assigned large enough for a house and small garden upon each. About eight hundred houses were erected, which at one time sheltered nearly three thousand of these refugees from bondage.

Though such a village was not productive of the best fruits of labor, yet even here, under the thorough system of police and the excellent drill of those employed by the Government, the schools,

taught by the finest of our lady teachers of the North, steadily increased in numbers, and the people so recently freed improved rapidly in intelligence, in cleanliness and order, and in all those individual acquirements which became stepping-stones to subsequent independence and thrift.

In the spring of 1863, all the different groups and crowds of refugees, regular and irregular, located throughout the long and broken line of division between the armies of the North and the South, ranging from Maryland to the Kansas border, and along the Atlantic coast from Norfolk to New Orleans, were similar in character to those already described. Their virtues, their vices, their poverty, their sickness, their labor, their idleness, their excesses of joy and their extremes of suffering, were told to our people by every returning soldier and agent of the Government or by missionaries from the North. This created an extraordinary zeal in the interest of humanity, a Christian spirit which was never before exceeded; and hence sprang up bodies of associated workers to whose labor and influence more than to anything else may be attributed our substantial relief from insurrection, anarchy and bloody massacres, with which the pro-slavery men and even the conservative readers of history had threatened the land.

O. O. HOWARD.

THE NOVEL OF OUR TIMES.

LITERATURE has its fashions and epidemics. Everything "runs to" novel nowadays, as in the Elizabethan age everything ran to drama. May we not, by the way, expect our Shakespeares and Marlowes and Fletchers of fiction about this time? Perhaps we have had them, and are still as unconscious of our visitation as the world was of its dramatic golden age. But of this anon.

The proportion of works of fiction to all other literature is indicated by the fact, that in the United States last year this class of publications numbered almost as many as those of history and biography, poetry and drama, theology and religion together; and the figures are not essentially different in England. This, of course, makes no account of the enormous mass of stories which never take a book form, but which constitute in whole or in part the contents of a legion of periodicals.

And yet the number of separate publications gives no idea of the aggregate circulation. In this respect there is hardly a comparison to be made with any other species of literature, unless it be Bibles and school-books. A work of philosophy or of history, of poetry or of essays, or even of popular science, which should reach its third thousand, would be regarded as an exceptional success. Whereas a successful book-novel will go off by the ten thousand, and some have attained a sale of from one hundred thousand to half a million. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has exceeded even the latter figure; two hundred and fifty thousand copies of *Middlemarch* were sold within two years, and a still larger number of *Daniel Deronda;* and *Called Back* had gone to that point in six months. The circulation of the story-papers is by the hundreds of thousands, and publishers of them have been known to make great fortunes in a few years.

Mr. Walter Besant is perhaps carried away somewhat by his enthusiasm for his art, when he claims that nine-tenths of the books read in England are novels, and in the whole world as great a proportion as nineteen-twentieths. But a careful examination of the books taken from the Boston Public Library showed that, out of a total of 203,992 volumes distributed from the lower hall, only 41,697 did not

come under the class of fiction. More than half of the new books added to the Library, notwithstanding the care taken and the high standard observed in selection, were fiction and "juveniles." Novel-reading of a less public kind is hardly less prevalent and monopolizing. Every now and then we are filled with a new surprise, if not a sense of incongruity, at hearing of some profound metaphysician, or dryas-dust scholar, or soulless Gradgrind, or saintly divine as an insatiate reader of all the novels he can lay his hands upon. Of two of our most thorough and doubtless most worried cabinet ministers, it has just been revealed by a gossiping bookseller that the one is a devourer of French novels, and the other of works like *The Vagrant Wife*, *The Tinted Venus*, and *Struck Down*.

More and more our literature of every sort is taking on this form, and requires to be spiced with this flavor. The Sunday-school library is simply a shelf of novelettes, and no book will pass muster in which the sharp little eyes do not at a glance detect a story. Even our elementary school-books amaze us of a former generation by their ingenious assimilation to the story-book. Science is at one with religion in thus sugar-coating its pills. Professor Seeley fights a losing battle in protesting that the main purpose of history is not to "gratify curiosity," and in his demand to "break the drowzy spell of narrative." Georg Ebers rises out of the dust of exhumed empires to tell their story in a series of thrilling romances. Doctor Hammond utilizes his surgical experiences in the same way. The old sea-dog, Admiral Porter, lashes the yellow colors to his mast-head, and challenges the world for curdling and cumulative sensation. Sir Arthur Helps and Oliver Wendell Holmes are impelled to throw their charming essays into story forms. Browning and Owen Meredith write novels in verse, or run their poetry into the story mould. Who can doubt that the "position of influence," which the author of *The Bread-winners* thought would be endangered by the disclosure of his name, was something of an ecclesiastical nature?

The fact is, that all of us who have anything to do with literary composition are coming to feel that (like the old superstition that every one must "eat his peck of dirt") we must write our novel before we die.* The writer pleads guilty of having indulged this dream

* More than fifteen hundred writers lately competed for a $1,000 prize offered for a story, and in a single month, last summer, one publishing house declined one hundred and fifty manuscript tales. It is estimated that the English publishers refuse ten for every one they print.

for many years. But he confesses that the longer he contemplated the task, the more he shrank from adding a feather's weight to the world's woe. And finally he decided that it was not only easier, but might be more useful, to write about the novel. "*Hinc illæ lachrymæ*"—*atramenti!*

The name "novel" can only be justified nowadays on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. We have shown that the appearance of this class of books has become anything but a novelty. And their contents have so thoroughly exhausted this element, that the latest school boldly plants itself on the canon that the proper sphere of the novelist is the familiar, if not the commonplace. Howells claims that all the dramatic stories have already been told, and that the chief business of the modern novelist is to analyze and describe. And the veteran Edmond de Goncourt even goes so far as to think that the latest stage of the novel, to which we are rapidly approaching, will be as a work of pure analysis. Besant lays down the formal theory, that "the end and purpose" is to portray "the general practice of living men and women . . . under conditions of place, of manners, and of thought . . . drawn from personal observation."

The truth is that this particular Pegasus has so taken the bit into his mouth and run away with his riders, that there seems to be a general disposition to cry a halt and see where we are, and also whether he has not strayed into fields where the pasture is unwholesomely thin or difficult of assimilation. There was a time when a work of fiction conveyed to our minds a distinct idea. All at once we find that we must go back to our definitions, and determine anew what we mean by a novel.

And yet there is no essential mystery about it. The tale is the earliest demand and the earliest supply of the human mind, whether it be in the childhood of the individual or of the race. I doubt whether it is the historic instinct or even the poetic impulse, so much as the craving for entertainment and the curiosity of the imagination for scenes and incidents outside of its narrow experience, which gives rise to the legends and chronicles and sagas and *lieder* of a people. Certainly the tales of the early bards and ballad-singers, who went about among the courts and castles, passed through no essential change of design when they became the prose romances, the *Arabian Nights* and *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Novellino*. And the novel of later times is simply an evolution from these, determined by the vast

and complex development of civilization, and immeasurably by the art of printing.

We cannot be too grateful that this primeval and broadening gulf-stream of tale-telling has carried down with it so much of historical tradition, and that for the sake of the golden apples of fiction so many rhythmical "baskets of silver" have been preserved to the world. But it must not be overlooked that a primary design, as it was the primitive impulse, is entertainment. The man is not only the offspring of the child—he *is* the child in this craving for the concrete, this delight in the moving pageantry of life, this gratified curiosity in the unravelling of its complications. This may not be the highest exercise of the mind, but it is not an unworthy one. I think there is no attribute of the human being which distinguishes him more from his brute companions than this capacity for living outside of his personal experiences, and his incapability of confining himself to them. Man is greater than his environment. The common becomes the commonplace. He stifles unless he can see beyond it. We thirst for a life-scene and story not worn threadbare, like our own. Hence the demand for the new, the "novel." And hence, too, we will not long be put off with story-telling which itself is commonplace and threadbare of incident, even under pretence of finding new springs of motive, or applying new powers of analysis or graces of description.

It need not be a surprise, that as men acquire power for the profoundest and most continuous intellectual effort, they do not lose their conscious necessity for this mode of mental recreation. Among the "potent, grave, and reverend seigniors" who have been known as novel-readers were such men as Burke and Webster and Guizot, who turned to this diversion from their problems of statesmanship. Mackintosh prepared his mind by it for his great exertions at the bar. Such clergymen as the learned Bishop Thirlwall and the devoted Dr. Hook were inveterate novel-readers. And I personally know of two of the foremost theologians of our country who confess to the same weakness.

So that the first requisite of a novel is to entertain. We do not object to being edified along therewith. We are not averse to having the cockles of our heart warmed at the blaze of Dickens's Christmas fires, nor to have our virtuous indignation and contempt quickened by Thackeray, nor to assist in the demolition of some hoary wrong with Charles Reade or Mrs. Stowe, nor even to receive theological

lectures from George Macdonald and "John Inglesant" and William M. Baker. We do not resist being instructed on a great many useful matters of art and nature and ideas. But we must be entertained, or we sue the author for obtaining our goods on false pretences.

The typical story-telling is, and always will be, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments.* Here was an old Bluebeard of a Sultan, whose pleasant habit it was to marry a new wife every night and make a widower of himself every morning. At last a certain Scheherazadè, the daughter of his vizier, nobly resolves to become a matrimonial Quintus Curtius by filling the gap. But there is a great method in her madness, for she knows human nature, as well as her own powers as a *raconteur.* So she has the wit to beguile her spouse into allowing his little sister-in-law, Dinarzadè, to occupy a trundle-bed in their apartment. And bright and early in the morning Dinarzadè, as previously instructed, chirrups out the immortal words: "My dear sister, if you are not asleep I entreat you, as it will soon be light, to relate to me one of those delightful tales you know. It will, alas! be the last time I shall receive that pleasure."

Having received the Sultan's permission, his accomplished bride begins a thrilling tale, which she takes good care shall be at the very acme of its interest when the Sultan, being a methodical man of business, is forced to go to his day's work, leaving the little novel "to be continued." As even sultans are human, who can wonder that he finds it quite impossible for him to behead the person in whose brain the sequel is locked up? Accordingly he postpones his widowhood "for this day only," that he may hear the *dénouement.* The next morning Scheherazadè completes the tale to his satisfaction. But in starting another to fill out the time, the clever Sultana has the adroitness to synchronize the most exciting part of her plot with her lord's "get-up bell." And so it goes on from day to day. She begins long yarns which are made up of many complicated threads of story, so that the princely auditor is completely entangled in the meshes, till on the expiration of a thousand and one nights he surrenders to the charming strategist, convinced that even the delights of daily uxoricide are not comparable to the satisfaction of possessing a matrimonial library of fiction.

What kind of a chance, we are constrained to ask, would the modern Scheherazadè have for her life in trying a "modern novel" on her Sultan? We fear greatly that she might only hasten her fate,

through the poor man's desperation to bring the slow-paced and unexciting serial to a termination. This Arabian ordeal is, I admit, a somewhat extreme, but by no means an illogical, test. You cannot expect us who have a real world about us to lend our ears to your fictions, much less to wait for your resumption and reappearance, Messieurs and Mesdames Novelists, unless you bring us "entertainment" for our American nights that follow the weary routine of our days.

The very word "entertainment" has come by philological development to stand for a class of diverting representations of life and characters. They are not designed to set us to think, nor to move us to feel, but to enable us to "see something going forward." We go to the story-teller in the child-mood of our natures. He must show us pictures. He must make us see, with the unconscious ease of eyesight, striking personalities which are either new to us or newly recognized, and whose fortunes we follow without effort through situations which keep our curiosity on the *qui vive*.

So that, after all, the novel is well named. The name embodies a prime essential. The writer must have not only something to say, but something to tell—a genuine tale. Not that the "novel" is necessarily the recent, or the unheard of. The oldest is sometimes the newest to us, as Sir Walter Scott abundantly demonstrated. The genius of Dickens has made a Bagdad out of London streets. And George Eliot has discovered for us in the Raveloes and Middlemarches and St. Ogg'ses about us, all the *personnel* of a life-drama as broad as human nature and as full of stirring interest as

> "—— the fashion of the time
> And humor of the golden prime
> Of good Haroun Al Raschid."

The novelty consists in its unwontedness to us, in the freshness of its presentation, and in the unexpectedness of its related incidents; in our sense always of discovery; and, not least, in the beguilement of our minds from their usual self-conscious and subjective state into one of pure objectivity.

The function of the story is to vivify mere hearsay into the effect of sight, and to so sift and correlate the incidents and characters that the impression is not kaleidoscopic, as when one reads his paper or looks down from his balcony upon a crowded street. The novel is a failure which does not do this for us, and which makes us work, or

do anything else than *see* the people to whom it introduces us and the progress of their fortunes. Whatever scientific processes of investigation and analysis, of induction and synthesis, may have preceded it in the author's mind, it must be a pure work of art to the reader's mind, a thing to be perceived by intuition and enjoyed without exertion. And this attitude of the reader will not be secured in its highest form and measure without a similar art attitude in the writer,—something of the Homeric and Shakespearian faculty of absorption and self-effacement in his work.

Entertainment alone will not suffice for the novel, of course, any more than sage and onions will make the Christmas goose. The latter must be a real goose, however savory it may be made. And the novel must be a real novel. It must not be an essay on a thread of narrative, nor a poem in prose, nor a history sailing under false colors. It must not be a psychology teaching by examples, nor a three-volumed parable. Neither must it be photography, or newspaper reporting. It may utilize all these qualities, both in materials and style. The greatest novelists have been essayists, poets, historians, philosophers, word-painters, journalists, all in one. But however largely these elements may enter into its construction, something more is essential—the art instinct, the creative and dramatic imagination, whereby the "new" thing is evolved from the old materials, unity of effect is produced from a multitude of incidents and actors, and a culmination of interest from scene to scene.

It is here that the weakness of the novel of the period appears,—a weakness growing not out of bankruptcy, but of an undue expansion of the currency.

The present is the epoch of the novel. Our epic and dramatic eras were long since passed. It begins to look as if our lyric muse was about to retire from business. In history and philosophy we still sit at the feet of Herodotus and Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle. Science has found able advocates and picturesque reporters, but their writings are subordinate as literature. Even the fine arts, with the exception of music, ape the past. But the art of fiction began in 1814 a development, as rapid as it has been imperial. What other department of literature can show such advance, either in production or in scope, as is indicated by the names of Jane Austen, Walter Scott, Lord Lytton, Thackeray, Dickens, Disraeli, Lever, Trollope, Charles Reade, George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs.

Stowe, Mrs. Burnett, Wilkie Collins, William Black, Walter Besant, George Macdonald, Howells, Henry James, and the author of "John Inglesant," — not to mention the Hugos, Daudets, Tourguéneffs, Tolstois, Spielhagens, Auerbachs, Andersens and Bremers of Continental literature.

It is hardly a matter of surprise that so proud and full a stream should burst its bounds, and not only flatten itself over too wide a surface, but lose much of its pellucid singleness of flow by the admixture of extraneous elements. Alike in its eager search for subjects and in its methods, the primary quality of a novel has been overlooked, both as an entertainment and as a work of art. The art-instinct is in danger of being effaced by the scientific self-consciousness of the writer, and the art-effect upon the reader is lost by the unconcealed intrusion of psychical analysis, or by an attempt at daguerreotypic fidelity of portraiture and description. In addition to this, a claim (analogous to Wordsworth's theory of poetry, so strikingly disproved by his own practice) has been advanced, that the materials of fiction do not require to be selected with reference to their adaptation to art or entertainment, but that "all is fish" which comes into the net of the novelist.

This "realistic" or "naturalistic" method, as it is called, has developed itself into two distinct departures. The transition from the romantic era of fiction, which went out with Bulwer and Kingsley, to the realistic was a natural and not unhealthy one. The heroic and picturesque side of life and history had been overworked, and completely flatted out in such writers as G. P. R. James. Men longed to be shown the actual in life and character about them. The first stage, represented by Dickens and Thackeray and Charles Reade, was that wherein the sentimental and ethical purpose was dominant. But the radicals of the revolution soon laid the axe at the root of what they regarded as a blemish upon the "naturalistic" method pure and proper, till it had reached in the "French" school a bald and uninspired miniature painting. This class of writers avowedly construct their novels out of their note-books. They make and record their observations of scenes and persons, and fit such of them as can be made available to a thread of narrative. They formally repudiate the construction of works of art, other than in the mechanical, or at best, the photographic sense. Their method, they say, is to report with a journalistic minuteness and sensationalism, and without any weak moral scruple or æsthetic selection, the actual aspects of contempo-

rary life. It is the easiest thing in the world. What is the use of a distinct "inspiration"? The pen of a ready draughtsman and a graphic reporter, and a plot which will utilize the material in hand, and the whole thing is done to order. They claim to be the "grandsons of Balzac." Oh, Balzac, what crimes are committed in thy name!

Another school of novelists, however, has followed the bent of its genius and its better taste by a kind of realism which, while not repulsive like the other, is not as entertaining. Their observation concerns itself with subtle motives and nice shades of character, and in the hands of all, except two or three writers of the highest genius, is nothing more than a microscopic study of commonplace types. This is unfairly known as the "American" school, because those writers of exceptional genius who have given it currency and *éclat* are from this side of the water. This class of novels gives us "studies" of character rather than characters, types rather than individuals, studies of dialect and race peculiarities, and social "sketches." What additions have been made to our circle of personal acquaintances in the world of fiction since Dickens and Thackeray died, and Mrs. Stowe and George Eliot laid down the novelist's pen? I have before me a broad and crowded sheet of imaginary portraits representing the personages of Charles Dickens's stories, as recognizable to any child who has read his books as the photograph album of one's friends and relatives. A Waverley gallery, selected from the 662 distinct characters of Scott, would be equally familiar. We would know Colonel Newcombe or Captain Costigan or the Marquis of Steyne or Beatrix Esmond, if we met them on the street. Leatherstocking and Uncle Tom may be typical, but they are more than types. Although George Eliot represents the transition from the art period to the scientific or philosophical, we number the Bedes and Hester, Silas Marner and the Tullivers among our personal friends. Nor is this creative and incarnating power of these writers, as compared with their successors, attributable to surpassing ability, but to the changed methods of the latter, to a disuse of the synthetic art-instinct, and of the imagination which projects itself into the life and soul of other men and other periods, and reproduces them from within by an "inspired" and almost unconscious intuition. The change which we feel in George Eliot, from the vivid creations of *Clerical Scenes* and *Adam Bede* to the indefiniteness of *Daniel Deronda* is due to this creeping mist of self-consciousness and the psychological mood of mind.

When the stage of self-consciousness and self-criticism has been reached in any art, the Saturnian Age of production has passed. The novel of the times is full of description and explanation. It analyzes and paints, but does not create. Its personages are the simulachra of a wax-work show; its characters are puppets, whose wires and pulleys we are taken behind the scenes to study, but they are not vital, rounded, spontaneous.

"Romance, beside his unstrung lute,
Lies stricken mute.
The old-time fire, the antique grace,
You will not find them anywhere;
To-day we breathe a commonplace,
Polemic, scientific air;
We strip Illusion of her veil,
We vivisect the nightingale
To probe the secret of his note.
The muse in alien ways remote
Goes wandering."

Is it to be wondered at that a reaction, of an extreme and alarming kind, has come in like a flood and threatens disaster to the reading world? Ingenious and sensational plot-weavers, like Wilkie Collins and Jules Verne, find themselves suddenly reinforced by an immense array of writers, to whom clever and absorbing complications of incident are the one thing needful. The human mind has revolted against the attempt to entertain it with thinly-veiled psychology, and the whole class of "studies" and "sketches." It will not be beguiled into long and aimless journeys, or equally long and aimless disquisitions, under pretence of story-telling. It at least insists that the story shall be put in one plate, and the philosophy and information into another, as Victor Hugo has so kindly done in *Les Misérables*. The high tide of this reaction was appropriately marked by the amazing success of Hugh Conway's *Called Back*. There seems to have been a prophetic aptness in that title. The book is destitute of literary merit, and owes its success to its being an undeviating and unadulterated story. The overworked or the *ennuyéd* men of this generation turn to these novels because they find a mental diversion in the excitement of crowded and rapid events, in the mystery not of motive, but of an intricate entanglement of incident and destiny.

As a result, writers like Miss Braddon and Mrs. Henry Wood find themselves suddenly welcomed in circles from which they were once utterly tabooed. Old writers are perforce adopting the new method.

The most respectable publishers are making this the feature of their series of novels. I am not pessimistic enough to impute it to a preference for the bad so much as to a weariness of the dull, and a revolt against the prosy; but it is none the less true that the police calendar has become the type and treasury of the most popular novelists. The detective story seems never to weary. Gaboriau, Boisgobey, Conway, F. Warden, and the like, are in everybody's hands. Crime is the spice which never fails to commend the dish to jaded appetites.

The moral aspects of the fiction question are among the most serious of our day. It may well be a query, whether our Puritan and pious ancestors were not equally prophetic and iconoclastic in their exclusion of the novel, as well as the theatre. It is *the* conduit of evil in our day, even more than the newspaper. It is as true now as in the days of Smollett and Aphra Behn, that

> "Fiction entices and deceives,
> And scattered o'er its fragrant leaves
> Lies poisonous dew,"

and it is hard to say which is the more essentially immoral,—the realism of the "French" school, or the vulgar romanticism of their successors.

The genuine realist, while forfeiting the right to be regarded as an artist, adopts the theory that "art exists for its own sake," and hence is independent of ethical considerations. Therefore, he not only "strips illusion of her veil," as Mr. Aldrich sings, but modesty and conventional morality. He asserts that the ideal and romantic and sentimental belong to poetry, and the moral to the preacher. Men and their lives are to be presented exactly as they are, without attempting to select the beautiful or heroic, or employing the bad and base as warnings or even as backgrounds for the better and brighter. The simply beautiful and good are dismissed as unadapted for fictitious treatment. The law which Ruskin lays down, that "all great art is praise," is unthinkable by these writers.

Hence morality is logically ignored by the advanced realist, and the contagion of his example has reached and affected all the fiction of our time. The married flirt and the mismated wife figure more and more, questionable relations between the sexes constitute the staple of most stories, and the divorce courts vie with the "Tombs" and the Old Bailey for the supply of the current demand. If the

Conway and Braddon school have revived the Jack Sheppard and Paul Clifford type of fascinating criminals, the realists have restored the *roué* and the *demi-monde*. As theologic agnosticism tends to become practical atheism, so this ethical agnosticism becomes practical immorality. Vice made familiar is quite as dangerous as vice glorified. The best which can be said of the best of these naturalistic novels is that, as some one remarks, the characters are without souls, and are merely nerves.

To the author himself the effect of this method is disastrous and demoralizing. The world and life are mostly dark and evil and mean. Such, therefore, if he is to present them as they are, and without æsthetic or ethical selection, must be the aspects of his pictures—a microscopic study of diseased types. There is a chilling tone and sombre atmosphere about the novel of the period, very different from the unfailing glow and good-humor which pervade the works of Fielding and Scott and Dickens and Cervantes. We see but little of the almost parental feeling for one's own literary offspring which made the older novelists shudder to kill them, and gave them a sense of bereavement in parting with them at the close. A feeling which survived in a friend of mine, who wrote an exceedingly successful story in which he left his hero apparently and logically a ruined man, but could not rest till the possibility presented itself of a sequel wherein the fellow's character might, without too much violence to reason, be retrieved. The truly realistic author has no more sympathy with his people than has the camera with the sitter for a likeness. And in the analytic realist we are conscious of a latent sneer or a cynical smile at them, as well as at us who should manifest an old-fashioned glow of interest in them.

And now having tried in succession every possible form and theory of novel-writing, and having been thus landed in the mire as well as asphyxiated in a tenuous or tainted atmosphere, what is going to be the outcome? I think, the speedy end of the specialist, and a broadened conception of the sphere of the novel. It will be decided, that in order to furnish forth a novel it is not enough that one should have a trick of landscape painting, or an eye for the grotesque, or a turn for microscopic mental analysis, or a chess-player's ingenuity in devising situations. These properties of the essay and the sketch will be recognized as only separate elements in the complex equipment of the novelist. These materials—none of which should be wholly absent—must still be kindled by the spark of a

genuine inspiration, the touch of human nature which makes the whole world (of books as well as of men) akin, the creative imagination, and the unifying and vivifying instinct of a true art.

It was intimated at the beginning of this article that we may have had our Elizabethan age of fiction without knowing it, and with some of us, perhaps, stoutly refusing to hear of such a thing. We can find a clever school of writers—who have the great advantage of being able to show their faith by their works—contending that the novels of the past, and especially of those whom we have been coming to regard as the great Masters, have been great mistakes, or, at best, the ungainly monsters of a teeming but undeveloped period. And now out of this wild and waste exuberance of life, in keeping with the rank luxuriance of its environment, we are evolving a pruned survival which is to be the novel of the future. This perfected creature is as clean of limb, as clear-eyed, and as gentle as a lady's greyhound. But some of us fear that in the process there may have been sloughed off, or reduced to rudimentary proportions, the organs which gave power and sweep and brilliancy to the genius of old romance.

What would be thought of a school of painting or of poetry which should ignore the past, or take account of it chiefly as an obsolete and absurd crudity? May it not be possible that the student of the art of fiction will find his masters and his models just where the students of those other arts find theirs,—in the great original geniuses who drew their Promethean spark direct from heaven, and who themselves needed no masters, because they created their art. Not, of course, that the pupil should reproduce with a Chinese servility the fadings and discoloration of the master's work, nor his feebler strokes, but that he should seek to catch the secret of that spell whereby "he cometh unto you with a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney-corner." Are there none of the great story-tellers of the past to whom we can go, as we go to Homer as the ideal and law-giver of the epic, and to Shakespeare as the master and mirror of English drama? Are there no deduced and attested canons of criticism for this class of literature, as we have them for epic poems or for plays? And is there any need that critics should clash shields as they "wander darkling in the eternal space, rayless and pathless"?

What strikes us most in these Old Masters of fiction, in contrast with the modern school, is their prodigality of resources, the wealth

of wit and wisdom and ofttimes of recondite learning which they lavish on their books, the breadth of their knowledge of man in all times and under all phases. No one dreams of apologizing for the spending of his time in reading such world-books. They constitute a curriculum of culture.

These writers saw life not as the vivisectionist sees it, nor the world as the man of science with his microscope and camera sees it, nor yet as a "Flatland" without firmament or chiaroscuro or perspective. They had the poetic sense which discerns what the photographer's art cannot catch, "a light that never was on land or sea." They were not less poets in the higher and etymological sense of a *maker*. Theirs was not only the genius which portrays the features and expression of the present, and paints in imaginative colors the past. They had the creative touch, by which new worlds are added to our observation and actual people come into the world to dwell for evermore among us. What wizards they were in reproducing the atmosphere of other ages, bringing them under our very eyes, and yet without the least sacrifice of perspective or of historic color. Wheresoever we may go for the facts of English and Scottish history, the Britain which is real to us, whether we will or no, is that of Shakespeare and Scott. And it is to the latter that we owe the modern method of vivid and human history-writing, since it was he who awoke the "muse of history" in Macaulay.

The Masters keenly felt, and make us feel, the romantic aspects of life. What can be the matter with our age, that men should be found who seriously claim that we have exhausted or outlived romance, and who class it with illusions and not with realities. There may be veracity of a certain sort, but there can be no whole or wholesome truth, in the narrative which is unlit by it,—it is a landscape without atmosphere or "feeling." The romantic interpretation of life is only less profound than the spiritual, and is akin to it. It is necessary for grasping the essential unity of life, for perceiving its broader and even many of its subtler relations, for the intuition of its lingering beauty, for the elevation of its ideals, for the relief of its tedium. Who, moreover, can have failed to notice that these Old Masters saw the humorous side of life with the eye not only of an observer, but of a humorist, with a broad and genial sympathy which is clearly distinguishable from the critical and diagnostic studies of much of the cleverest writing of our day?

I trust that I shall not be misconstrued as a hero-worshipper or a

special pleader in selecting a single example from among these great names, as peculiarly and compendiously illustrating the circle of intellectual and æsthetic qualities which go to make the ideal novelist. Sir Walter Scott was an incomparable story-teller. His stories are as fresh and absorbing as they were when their successive appearances were the supreme events of Europe and America. Not one of his novels is an invertebrate. He always had a tale to tell, which gave not only organic cohesion, but a nervous and thrilling vitality to his books. His tales were no slender thread of spider-woven plot, but a full and living stream flowing between broad banks, like the Rhine or the Hudson, rich in the charm of castled antiquity and in the gorgeous autumn tints of a romantic and historic past. His was the genial, mighty laughter of the gods. His was the enchanter's wand of poetry and romance; and yet with Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare, he belongs to the highest type of realist, whose imaginative and intuitive genius is as comprehensive as it is minute, and is powerful enough to fuse all particulars into unity, as well as intensity, of effect.

To read Scott is a liberal education. To re-read him again and again, as the years go by, is to grow more keen of eye and catholic of soul, to realize more and more the grandeur of the past and the picturesqueness of the present, as well as the latent charm and significance of all life; and, not least, to keep one's self unspotted from the world of falseness and foulness which the novel of the times is so painstaking, and not seldom painsgiving, in portraying.

I cannot close without a word upon the vexed question of the American novel. This question is only one part of the general muddle about an American literature. The usual fallacy in such discussions, especially among our English cousins, is in the à priori theory that an American literature must be something abnormal, in expecting some monstrosity akin to our California pumpkins, or our Florida alligators. Hence the English critics have insisted upon pronouncing Walt Whitman's to be the voice in the wilderness which foreruns the coming of the true American Muse.

This silly and rather insulting theory takes for granted that we are not educated, and are still in that primitive stage of civilization which is fain to develop out of its untaught isolation some rude and original method of expression. Whereas, we are simply schoolfellows in the same form with England, France, and Germany. We,

too, are the heir of all the ages. We have been tutored by the masters of all lands and literatures, exactly as they have been. Why should we develop any essentially different methods of literary art, and not rather furnish more finished examples of a perfected style and method? If we differ at all, should it not be, as a cosmopolitan and conglomerate people, in a freedom from the traditional provincialisms of the older nations and in a natural selection of their broader and better qualities?

The distinctively American school must be looked for in our use of those materials which the peculiarities of our history and territory, our national customs and characteristics, present to the eye of genius to perceive and its plastic hand to mould in forms of art. And this we are already doing with a success to which only prejudice can be blind.

We Americans are at a certain disadvantage, and yet at an undoubted advantage, on the whole. We have not that background of long tradition and those immovable social and class distinctions, which are the inexhaustible material for complexities of destiny. But we have a far wider field for character study, and for novel situations, in our composite nationality and our strangely contrasted sections of territory. The deepening mists of romance and poetry are settling down upon a vast and varied and almost untouched history. There has been on our free soil and among our heterogeneous population an original development of individuality, as well as of sectional types. We have here as nowhere else in the world a rapid rise of families and fortunes, a peculiar and intense practical life, an unstereotyped religious development, the social antagonisms and complications arising from the respective claims of wealth, family, and culture. We have our original varieties of villain, and we flatter ourselves that they are quite as piquant and picturesque as those which are produced on the other side of the water. And though love is a plant which blooms under all skies, it draws a special flavor and chemical quality from each soil. Let us recognize and credit the wealth of American literature which we already have, and be eager-eyed and open-handed toward the laborers who are rising on every hand to reap

> "The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
> For which the speech of England has no name."

F. N. ZABRISKIE.

BOTANY BAY.

His name was Balaam Montmorency. How its two incongruous parts came together, who gave him this name, with its union of the Biblical and romantic, I never knew, and I think nobody in Stonington knew any more than I did. In fact, few, even in the village itself, had ever heard the whole of his name. He was generally called "old Balaam" or "old Bay," until some village wag hit upon the title—whose fitness you will recognize as my story goes on—Botany Bay, and so he was called to the end of his life.

I cannot remember when I first saw him, for, from my earliest childhood, he was a familiar and well-known object. So short of stature as almost to deserve the name of dwarf, with a shock head of tangled yellow hair, bleached almost white by the sun, a thin brown face, and the big blue eyes of a child, who that ever saw him can forget poor Botany Bay? His business was one well known and much followed in former times, but now unknown save in the most primitive and rural of communities: he was a gatherer and vender of roots and herbs. Day after day, year by year he roamed through wood and swamp, by stream and highway, over plain and hillside, in search of treasure. With bag on back, and basket in each hand he came every day into the village from his rambles, bringing the sweetness, the spiciness, the tastes and smells and greenness of the forest with him. Birch, sassafras, and wintergreen for the home-made root-beer; pennyroyal and mint to "take to meetin'"; sweet-clover to lay in the linen chest, or among the handkerchiefs in the bureau drawer; boneset, prince's pine, hardhack, yarrow, "Injun posy," peppermint, skullcap, poke-root, dock, snake-root, wild cherry, goldthread and blood-root, for medicines; dandelions and cowslips for "greens"; pigeon berries for red ink; bayberries for candles; all these were among his stores. He brought, too, wild plants to make beautiful the village gardens, the sweet brier with its fragrant leaves and pink blossoms, the woodbine to trail over fence and wall, or cover the porch with its five-fingered leaves, so green in summer, so brightly crimson in autumn; the swamp honeysuckle with its sticky flowers of pink or white, yellow and red lilies for the garden borders, blue flags,

and vivid cardinal flower. From his basket came the small, sweet huckleberries of the early season, the later and larger blueberries with their whitey bloom, the low and high blackberry, and wild raspberries, both black and red. No strawberries now, from garden or hot-bed, have the wild flavor of those small cone-shaped ones which old Bay brought us in early summer; even the puckery choke cherries were pleasant to our young palates, and oh, how nice were the spicy checkerberries, the aromatic sassafras, sweet birch and sarsaparilla, the wild plums, purple and yellow, the fox and frost grapes!

And how much he knew of these children of the wildwood. He could tell you of their haunts, their seasons, their habits, their virtues. He knew them, not only when in full bloom or mature fruit they were most easily recognized, but in earliest babyhood, when first their tender shoots of pale pink or delicate green pierced the cold ground, or in old age, when the dry and empty fruit swung on the leafless stems, and when even dry fruit and bare stalks were gone he found his friends underground by root or bulb, and knew them in their graves.

I have said that I cannot remember my first sight of old Balaam, still less can I recollect how from acquaintances we became friends. I have always from boyhood loved the woods and what grows in them, but whether this love drew Bay and me together, or whether his companionship first gave me that taste for the wildwood I do not know. But friends we always were. Bay was not fond of the village boys generally, and "small blame to him," as the Irish say. The youngsters teased him unmercifully, stole his roots and herbs, called him names, played him tricks, and were generally nuisances to the poor man. So he avoided them, never sought their companionship, carefully concealed from them the locality of his rarest plants, and was obstinately silent when questioned as to where and how he found them. So I considered myself very fortunate to be in the old man's good graces, and to be allowed, as I was, day after day, to accompany him in his rambles, and I grew to know, better than most boys, the woods and swamps around our village, and what they held. As I look back now I can see myself, a small, flaxen-haired boy, with "cheek of tan," trotting along by my queer little old friend, and listening eagerly to his quaint talk. Off the East Road, out to the Devil's Den, along Anguilla Brook, toward Mystic, through Flanders, to Lantern Hill, to Quiambaug Cove, all these ways we took, often walking the whole distance of many miles, but

sometimes having a lift from a friendly farmer, on hay cart or wagon. Some of the flowers we found in these rambles I have never since seen, others I have encountered in far northern or extreme southern parts of our country, and greeted with a strange thrill of memory as I thought of my boyhood and poor Botany Bay. I well remember as a red-letter day the July morning when we first found on Lantern Hill the rhododendron, with its thick, glossy, green leaves and flowers of pale rose. Bay called it "big laurel," and told me of some far away mountain country, very vaguely described, where he had seen this beautiful shrub growing in great profusion, "close together, an' taller'n a man." He carefully separated the petals—for he was very tender always with his flowers—and showed me that the throat, or "swaller," as he called it, was greenish, and spotted with red; and he enjoined secrecy as to the discovery, as there were but few plants there, and "some pesky woman might want to dig 'em up for her posy-gardin." And with what wonder and admiration I first gazed upon the pink lady's slipper, found in a dry wood near Westerly. It seemed to me such an odd flower, with its rosy pouch or bag, and I was pleased with Bay's name for it of Whippoorwill's shoes. He gathered the whole plant, giving me the flower on its slender stalk, but keeping the fibrous root among his choicest treasures as "good for narves and high strikes."

What had he among his herbs which was not "good for" some ailment or other? And what wonderful tales he could tell of his marvellous cures. I remember many of these stories still, and so, as I go through the country, I find my botanical knowledge strongly mingled with reminiscences of the henbane and plantain poultice that cured Enoch Wilcox and "kep' off lockjaw, when the crab bit his toe;" of the dandelion tea so beneficial for "old Mis' Dewey's janders," and the Indian turnip which, boiled in milk, and "took fastin'" soothed Mary Bright's "creakin' cough."

As I do not remember when I first saw Botany Bay, so I cannot recall at what stage of our comradeship I began to define in my own young mind what made him so different from other people. He was generally regarded as insane, alluded to as "crazy Balaam," avoided and feared by children as a dangerous lunatic. But I soon saw that he was not like other madmen. There was "wild Jimmy" the Scotchman, kept by his kinsfolk in an attic-room in the small brown house near Windmill Point, and whose ravings, yells, and unearthly peals of laughter rang out on moonlight nights, striking

terror to my soul. There was Vashti, with her tall, commanding figure, flashing black eyes and fine features, her shrewd, scarcely incoherent talk, full of humorous incongruities. And every one in the village knew Zaccheus, that harmless eccentric, with his unkempt hair and strangely patched, parti-colored garments, who muttered to himself as he carried his baskets and brooms through the streets, or stood in the door of his caboose-house in the evening. Botany Bay was not at all like these. He was taciturn, reticent, but when he talked of his plants there was no sign of insanity, no incoherency or wandering. I do not think he could read or write, he knew nothing of any botanical systems or artificial classifying of plants. But he had a sort of system of his own, and by some curious instinct seemed to recognize kinship between certain herbs, which in later years I found were placed in one family by more scientific men—not closer observers.

Yet there was something wrong in Bay's brain. My childish mind was conscious of it, but could not define it. There was a strange minor key in all his tones, a certain sadness underlying his happiest moods. When exultant over a new discovery, a long-sought flower, a deep-buried root of wondrous virtues, his child-smile of big-eyed delight would suddenly, swiftly fade, and a strange, mingled look of perplexity, fear, and melancholy take its place. By-and-by I went further in my analysis, and noticed what made his talk so odd and puzzling. This was the frequent recurrence of such expressions as "'tother," "him," "that 'un," and like phrases, not apparently referring to anything else in his sentences, or to anyone I knew.

"I'm awful glad to git this wild ginger," he would say, as he dug up the aromatic root of the asarum, with its singular, wine-colored flowers almost hidden under the earth; "old Square Wheeler's tryin' to swear off chewin'. It gives him spells now, an' he's had warnin's o' numb palsy. But he can't swear off on anything but wild ginger root. He's tried cammermile, an' rheubarb, an' lots o' things, but he goes on hankerin' for terbacky. I'm plaguey glad to git this,"—all this with a smile, or rather chuckle of pleasure. Then a shadow would fall on the thin, wizened, brown face, and in a lower tone, with a kind of pathetic ring in it, he would say, "I wonder if *he's* found it this year, hope he has," and with a heavy sigh the spicy treasure, but with half its flavor gone seemingly for Bay, would be dropped into the basket. Or while cutting, in autumn,

the witch-hazel twigs with their late, out-of-season, unflowerlike yellow blossom, he would murmur, "I'd be sot up with gettin' these, to steep for Lodowick Pen'leton's lame arm, if 't want for 'tother. I'm awfully 'fraid he ain't got any this fall." That I did not, for a long time, ask the meaning of these references shows me now that I recognized in them an element of mystery, something out of the common which somehow awed and silenced me.

I remember well the day when the explanation came. We had been roaming about the lower part of the village, gathering jimsonweed, the stramonium of botany and pharmacy. It grew very plentifully in waste places there, with its large, whitish or pale violet, funnel-shaped flowers, and coarse leaves, and we soon had all we wanted. As the summer twilight came on, we wandered down to the Point, near the old lighthouse, and finally seated ourselves on the rocks there, and looked out over the water. There had been one of those wonderful sunsets of crimson and gold so well known to old Stonington and believed by her inhabitants to be quite unknown elsewhere (old Captain Seth used to tell me it was "owin' to the salt in the air, which kinder fetched the colors out, an' sot 'em"). A little sailboat in the distance,—a homely thing enough when at the dock, and with the broad unfaltering light of noonday upon its scarred and dingy sides, stained and patched sail—now seemed a fairy shallop of rose and gold, and on this boat Botany Bay's blue, melancholy eyes were fixed. "*He* might be in that boat," he said at last, "might jest as well be there's anywheres; jest's likely to be, fortìno;" and then as I looked up at the dreary sound in his voice, I saw to my amaze and distress, big tears on the brown face. I could not stand that, I laid my fingers on the sleeve of his ragged coat and whispered:

"What's the matter, Bay?" I think he was glad to have me ask him. I think he had pined for a confidant; at any rate, he turned quickly towards me, and in a strangely solemn, sad voice, the very tones of which I seem to hear as I recall the scene, he said:

"Aleck, did ye know there was two o' me?"

I scarcely understand now what there was in those words to frighten me so. Perhaps it was the tone and manner of the speaker, our surroundings of sea and sky, as well as the mysteriousness of the words themselves, which alarmed me, only a boy at the time; but I shivered with sudden fear.

"Don't be scaret, Aleck," he said, soothingly. "'Taint nothin'

new. I've knowed it years. Ye aint scaret at me ; an' he's jest the same."

"Who is, Bay?" I said, in a frightened whisper, my teeth almost chattering.

"Him," he answered slowly, "t'other. That other *me*, ye know;" and gradually the story was told.

Many years before, how long Bay did not know, a sailor, temporarily in Stonington, while his ship was unloading, had told the simple herbalist a strange thing. He had said that somewhere far away there was another Botany Bay, another Balaam, in every respect the same as this one. His name, his looks, his pursuit, were all just the same. This is what Bay understood him to say. Whether the man was trying to impose upon the poor boy's credulity, whether in his broken tongue—for he was a foreigner—he only intended to say that he had seen a person who resembled the plant-vender, or again, if perchance he was superstitiously inclined and himself believed in this strange double, I know not. At any rate, Bay accepted the tale as true, and it colored all his after life. If he was happy and exultant over some simple conquest in the plant world, his joy was at once shadowed by the thought that "t'other" was, perhaps, denied that pleasure. If troubled, if cold or hungry, or persecuted by the boys, he was jealous lest "t'other" was better off and free from these annoyances. He was always brooding over the existence of this other self, sometimes when lonesome rejoicing in the twinship which seemed to give him something all his own, a more than friend or even brother, sometimes hating the thought of this shadow of his he could not escape, oftenest of all fearing with a strange fear this weird, mysterious duplicate of himself. After my first alarm on hearing this strange story the terror subsided, and I began soothing and comforting my poor friend.

"I don't see what makes you so afraid, Bay," I said, as we still sat on the rocks and talked that night. "What is there so dreadful in a man's looking just like you?"

"'Taint that, Aleck," he replied. "'Taint jest that he favors me, but he *is* me, an' I'm him, an' we're both on us each other. It's dreffle, dreffle."

"But how can it be, Bay? How could it have happened?"

"Well, I didn't use to know 'bout that myself. But I've ciphered it out now, an' this's the way on it. I see Cap'n Pollard's little gal one day, Lois you know, settin' on the stoop, cuttin' out figgers

out o' paper with her ma's scissors, an' she went to cut out a man with a peaked hat on, an' all of a suddent she says: 'Why, look here, I got two on 'em 'stead o' one.' An' I see she'd doubled her paper 'thout knowin' it, an' so she'd got two men jest kezackly alike, peaked hat an' all. An' then in a jiffy it come over me that was how it happened with him an' me; God got the stuff doubled, you see, an' when he went to cut me out—or him, whichever 'twas he meant to make—he made two on us. I guess he didn't find it out till 'twas too late, or he wouldn't ha' let it go. Or mebbe he thought he'd throwed one away, but it—I mean him—or me—got off somehow. But 'twas a dreffle mistake, an' can't never, never be sot right."

His voice had a hopeless ring in it, and his blue eyes were misty as he looked off to sea. It was growing dark, and one by one the lights came out on Fisher's Island, Montauk Point, and further to the westward, on the Hummocks.

"How *could* it be sot right?" he went on. "Mebbe you think if one on us died, 'twould fix it. But about his soul, how's that? When we was made double—by mistake—nobody to blame, you know—there couldn't ha' been but one soul provided for. I was raised respectable on 'lection an' foreordination, jest's you was, Aleck—an' so I know that air soul was 'lected to heaven or 'tother place, an' whichever died fust would take that place provided for Balaam Montm'rency's soul. Ther' couldn't be two men 'lected guv'nor o' Connecticut, could ther'? No more could ther' be two souls to the same man 'lected to one place."

"O, Balaam!" I cried, in dismay; "I can't follow you; I'm all mixed up."

"So'm I, Aleck, an' so's him, dreffle mixed, that's the trouble."

From that night Bay and I were closer friends than ever. I knew his secret now, and he was glad I knew it. We often talked of "t'other," and passed hours in vain surmises and imaginings as to his fate. Although I knew the whole situation was impossible and existed only in poor Bay's weak brain, still there was a fearful fascination for me in the subject, and I loved to dwell upon it.

"Would you like to see him, Balaam?" I asked one day. Bay shook and brushed the earth from some fine large roots of the ginseng he had just been digging, as he said doubtfully, "I don't hardly know. Sometimes I think I would, an' then again I aint so sure. To see yourself comin' up to ye jest careless like, 's if 'twas somebody else would be pretty scary, out of a lookin' glass. But

agin there's times when I want him bad; seem's if I must have him; 's if I wasn't a hull man without him, but on'y a piece o' one, half a pair o' scissors, you know, or one leg o' these trowses."

"But, Bay," I said, with a sudden thought, "it isn't any worse than twins. Don't you know Bill and Bob Hancox are twins, and they look so much alike nobody but their mother knows them apart."

"I ve thought o' that," Bay replied, "but it aint the same. They was meant to be in pairs, like pijin berries, or two-fingered grass. They've got two souls, an' there's a place for 'em both—one for Bob Hancox and one for Bill Hancox—in heaven or t'other place; I'm afraid Bill's place is the bad 'un, for he's a plaguey, troublesome chap; but *us*, we aint twins, we're *each other*, don't ye see?"

I did not see exactly, but that there was a difficulty too mighty to be explained away by my young self I realized too well. One summer's day we were walking near the "Road meeting-house." Bay had been gathering Indian tobacco, one of the lobelias, and discoursing upon its nature and properties. According to him, although a powerful "pison," yet when steeped and combined with certain other "yarbs" it had performed wonderful cures.

"There's 'nother kind," he said, "somethin' like this, only its a good deal taller, an' 's got big spikes o' blooms, real blue, an' han'some. They call that the High Beelyer, 'cause this small little one's the Low Beelyer, ye know, an' its good for the blood, like sas'p'rilla an' dock."

We sat down to rest on the church steps, and were silent for a time. Then Bay said: "I wish I was a perfessor; b'longed to the church, ye know; I might get a sight o' comfort that way. But I can't be, 'taint no use. I come pretty near it once. I was at the Baptist meetin' one Sunday night, an' there was a big revival, an' Elder Swan was preachin'. I was awful stirred up, an' seem'd's if I'd foun' a way out o' all my troubles. But all on a suddent I thought o' t'other one. I mos' know he's a heathen, for the man that told me about him he was a Portugee or Kanaka, an' mos' likely he'd seed t'other Balaam over in them parts. So I jest thought 'twould be pretty mean for me, with my priv'leges, born in a Christian land an' raised in Stonin'ton Borough, to take advantage of t'other poor heathen Bay just because he'd happened to be brought up 'mong id'ls an' things, an' take his chance away. So I gin' it up."

I cannot describe fully all the phases of feeling through which

Bay passed after I knew his story. But sure am I that after doubt, fear, repulsion, dread, sorrow, and pity, he came at last into a great and tender love for this strange other self. I do not think he had ever before loved a human being. As far as I could find out he had no memory of father, mother, brother, or sister, and had hitherto led a friendless, lonesome life. So he had learned no expressions of endearment, no fond words, no pet names. Such had never been addressed to himself, nor had he ever used them. But he loved, in a certain fashion, his plants, and this helped him now. He grew more eccentric, odder than ever, was more by himself, and was always talking in a low tone, even when quite alone. The village folk said that he was "madder'n a hatter," "crazier'n a coot," but I did not think so. He was only talking to his other self, for I often heard such words as these:

"Poor Bay, poor t'other Bay, don't mind me, don't be scaret as I uster be, 'cause there's two o' ye. Some meddlin' loon's up an' told ye, I suppose, an' ye feel bad; don't, now, *don't*."

Then his voice would sink almost to a whisper as he would say:

"Why, I love ye, Bay, I love ye; I love your peaked, pindlin' face, an' your yeller mussed-up hair, an' them silly blue eyes o' yourn. Ye see I know jest how ye look, I've got a bit o' lookin'-glass now, an' I carry it 'round an keep lookin' in it, an' I can see us jest 's plain. Don't be feard on me, I wouldn't no more hurt ye than I'd hurt the vilets or venuses-prides in the spring."

But more and more, as this strange love grew, did the poor man grieve—agonize almost—over that other's soul, and its ultimate state. His ideas of heathendom were vague, and derived principally from what he had heard at the "Monthly Concerts" of the Baptist church, intensified by the pictures in illustrated missionary papers distributed at the same meetings. He sometimes fancied that "t'other Bay" was discussing this matter with him, and I would hear him say, as if in response to another voice:

"Yer a heathen, ye say? That aint no matter. How could ye help bein', out there where ye b'long? Never min', poor old Bay, *I* don't care 'bout yer idl's, an' yer throwin' babies to the crockerdiles, an' layin' down on the railroad track to let the Jockanock train run over ye, an' all that. I'd a done it too, if 'twas the fash'n in the Borough here. That's what they sing over to Baptist meetin',

> 'The heathens' in their blinders
> Bows down to wooden stuns.'

'Course they do, they don't know no better. But then, Bay, 'taint a good thing to do, an' I wouldn't if I was you. O, Lord, I *am* you, I clean forgot. But won't ye try not to do it; can't ye swear off, Bay?"

Again and again, as the months rolled on, Balaam would talk with me of this matter, always dwelling now upon the point that there was but one place "pervided for Balaam Montm'rency's soul," and consequently but one of the two Bays could have a place at all.

"But," I ventured to ask one day, "what becomes of the other soul, Bay?"

"Why, it jest goes out."

"Out where?" I naturally asked.

"Jest where the light of a taller can'le goes when ye snuff it out, or the inside of a puff ball when ye squeeze it, that's where. There aint no soul no more, its just stopped bein'."

The more the love for "t'other Bay" grew and deepened, the more the trouble and perplexity increased. How could he help this other; how could he set right this mighty difficulty?

One November day I had arranged to meet my friend just outside the village, and go out to the Baldwin Farm to dig goldthread roots. It was late in the season, but Uncle David Doty was suffering with a sore mouth, and his supply of goldthread—a certain cure—was nearly exhausted, and Botany Bay knew well how to find the little plant, even when snow was on the ground, by its glossy, evergreen, strawberrylike leaf, which told that under the earth were the bright yellow threadlike roots of bitter virtue. As I came to the place of meeting, Bay was waiting, and I at once saw that he was strangely excited. His thin brown face was pale, his big blue eyes wild, his lips worked nervously.

"Aleck, Aleck," he said excitedly as soon as I drew near, "I've had a message!"

"Who from, Bay?" I asked.

"Why, from him, from poor Bay, dear old Balaam. I thought there was suthin' comin', an' I've been thinkin' an' contrivin' what 'twould be, an' this mornin' as I was comin' down the road I see old Thankful Bateese, the Injun woman. She's a mighty cur'us creeter, an' they say she has dealin's, an' she was in a field all by herself, an' she was a walkin' roun' an' roun' suthin' on the ground, an' kinder singin'. An' I lissened, an'—O Aleck, boy, I heerd the words."

He stopped and caught his breath with a half sob.

"What was it?" I asked eagerly, sharing his excitement.

Still pale and trembling he began chanting in a strange, monotonous way, these rude rhymes,

> "Ther's room for one, but ther' aint for two,
> Ther's no room for me if ther's room for you;
> If ye wanter save me, jest up an' say
> Ye'll gimme your chance, an' get outer the way."

As he crooned the words swaying his body and moving his head from side to side, I was at once reminded of the old squaw, so well known in the village, and her peculiar way of chanting some strange gibberish, quite unintelligible to any of us. It at once struck me that Bay had construed the Indian jargon in his own way, prompted by his one pervading thought.

"Are you sure she said that?" I asked. "I never could understand the words of anything she sings."

"*I* never could afore, Aleck, but I heered this jest as plain. 'Twas Bay, t'other Bay, speakin' right through her. An' now I know what I've got ter do."

"O, what, Bay?" I asked, anxiously, drawing nearer to him.

"Why, don't ye see? I've got ter up an' say I'll gin' him my chance an' git outer the way," and his voice again fell into the strange chant.

"But who'll you say it to, Bay?"

His face fell, and a puzzled look came over it, as he said, hesitating and troubled:

"Why—why—to him—no, I can't reach him—O, Aleck, what shall I do? What shall I do?" and he threw himself upon the ground in an agony of sorrow and bewilderment. At that moment I saw the old Indian woman coming along the road, and dashed after her. But I failed utterly in making her respond satisfactorily to my inquiries as to her song and what it meant. She threatened me, with alarming guttural sounds, and wild gesticulations and I ran away frightened.

I returned to my friend, and finally succeeded in persuading him to go on with me towards the farm, after our golden treasure. We talked long and earnestly, as we went on through the gray November day.

"Ye see, Aleck," said Balaam at last, "it must be *my* soul that's 'lected, I was allers afraid 'twas, an' he's foun' it out, an' he sees a

way out on it, if I 'wanter save him,' he says. Wanter! O, Bay!" and there was such a depth of tenderness in the voice. It seemed as if all the love he might under other conditions have given to father, mother, wife, or child had gone into this one affection.

"But, Bay," I said, full of love and pity for my friend, "I don't want you to give up to him, this way. Why should you?"

"Why, Aleck, I wanter, I'd love ter. I never had anybody to take keer on, or set by, or gin up ter, but him, an' I love it. I don't guess he sets so much by me; likely's not he's got folks, a fam'ly mebbe, an' he wants me outer the way, body an' soul, both on 'em. He don' want me 'roun' here, or takin' his place there, an' I don't blame him a mite. But it's different with me. He's all the folks I've got, an' I'm dreffle glad ter do a little suthin for him. I won't say that I ain't sometimes kinder felt 's if I'd like ter see them places they tell about at meetin', an' Scripter speaks on. Ye aint a religious boy, Aleck; that ain't cum yit with ye; so I can't talk much about that, an' tell you all my reas'ns, the whys an' whuffers; but anyway you'll understand how I'd like to see them plants and things growin' there, Elder Peckham told about, that heals the nations, an' them trees bearin' a dozen diffunt kin's o' fruits—grafted mebbe—an' them 'never-witherin' flowers' in the hymn-book—everlastin's I 'spose. But, law, 'taint wuth talkin' about, I'd do more'n that for him, poor chap. Jest to go out, you know, an' not to be 'roun' any more, that aint much."

In spite of myself I could not help talking as if the situation was a real one. I had lived so long with Bay in this strange story of another self, that it was very real to me, and I could hardly bear the thought of this terrible sacrifice, this strange, paradoxical unselfish self-love, this self-abnegatory immolation for another self. But I could do nothing.

We had gathered our roots, and were resting under the lee of a large boulder, when again Bay began his bewildering talk as to how he could effect this renunciation, to whom he could "up an' say" that he would gladly resign his chance for the other's sake. Suddenly, as we leaned against the rock, there came from overhead something like a cry. To this day I do not know what it was. It may have been the call of some belated bird fallen behind his migrating comrades, the scream of an eagle or hawk, but to Bay's excited brain it seemed a message from Heaven. We listened intently a moment, his pale face glowed, and he cried:

"O' course, o' course! I'd oughter knowed it. Thank the Lord, I know now."

"O, Bay, tell me, tell me, what is it?"

"Why, that there voice showed me how. Don't ye see that wh'ever made the mistake fust—made us double, ye know—he's the one to fix it now? He'll be glad enough to have the thing sot right an' off his mind, an' if I go an' tell him's well as I know how that I ain't goin' to stan' in anyone's way, that he can count me out, why the thing 'll be squared somehow." He was in a state of trembling excitement.

"Go home, Aleck, that's a good boy," he said hurriedly; "I want ter be by myself a spell; I'll come down bimeby."

He took up his basket, crossed the road, entered a piece of woods, and was soon out of sight among the leafless trees. I was frightened, and after a few minutes I stole after him, and went a little way into the woods. Suddenly I heard a voice, and involuntarily stopped to listen. I shall not tell you what I heard. I was not, as Botany Bay had truly said, a religious boy; perhaps I am not a religious man, but there was something about what came to my ears in that gray and lonesome wood which filled me with awe then and has ever since seemed to me a sacred, solemn thing. He was talking to some one, as man to man; he was telling that some one in homely phrase, which yet carried in it a terrible earnestness, of his willingness to give up his place here and hereafter—as he had often expressed it to me to "stop bein'"—to have everything go on as if there had been but one Bay, and that one "t'other." He did not ask that this might be; he made no petition, offered no plea. He spoke as if only his expression of willingness was lacking to make the thing a fact, to complete the sacrifice.

Boy as I was, I felt that I was on holy ground, and stole away. I would go home, I thought, but to-morrow I would, at the risk of seeming to betray a confidence, ask advice of some older, wiser person.

As I came down into the village it grew grayer and more black, and soon there were snow squalls, a sure sign there of increasing cold. And cold it grew, bitterly cold. As I sat in front of our blazing wood fire that evening I thought much of Bay, and longed for the morning. I should know better what to say to him now that I had thought the matter over, and if I could not convince him myself, why I should go to Mr. Clifford, the minister. He would

know what to say. The morning came clear and cold, sharply cold for that early season, and thoughts of skating and 'Lihu's Pond came first to me as I woke in my warm bed. Then I remembered Bay. As soon as I could I ran up the street and down the little lane opposite the doctor's to Bay's small brown house. He was not there; the neighbors said he had not been there since yesterday morning. I hurried to David Doty's, down the back street towards the Point, but he had not brought to the old man the promised goldthread. Thoroughly alarmed, I ran home and told my fears, and soon our team was ready, and my father and I, with faithful Elam, our "help," were on the way to the woods where I had last seen poor Bay.

It did not take long to find him; he did not try to hide away. There he was, lying close at hand, and very still. At first we thought that he was dead. Then he showed some signs of life, and we lifted him tenderly and carried him to our home. No pains were spared to resuscitate him; good Dr. Hines worked faithfully and untiringly, and by-and-by the eyelids trembled and were lifted.

There was a look of dazed wonderment at first, then a faint light flickered over the small, quaint, brown face, and the lips moved. We bent to listen. In a faint, broken whisper he said:

"Ther's room for one, but ther' aint for two. But—ther' aint——two now, Bay; you're the—one—an' I'm—goin' out. I'm dreffle glad, Bay."

The big blue eyes opened with a sudden smile, like that of a little child, but withal so wise and deep, and Bay was still. The soul had "gone out." Had it "stopped bein'"?

ANNIE TRUMBULL SLOSSON.

CRITICISMS, NOTES, AND REVIEWS.

A GLANCE BACKWARD.

In looking back to see what the Reviews were talking about when The Princeton appeared, we find several things worth mentioning. For instance, in *The Edinburgh* of January, 1825, is an article on "Ireland," so able and to the point (and alas! sixty years before its time) that it would do for the most part to be republished as a tract for the present crisis. It strongly urges the abolishment of the office of lord lieutenant, and of the "Castle" *régime*. Its opening sentence is: "The actual state of Ireland—the magnitude, misery, fierceness, and desperation of her population—ought, if anything can, to excite the earnest and anxious attention of the people of Britain." And it closes with the question: "Is the old-womanish fear of innovation to induce us to continue a system forever, which has covered Ireland with mud cabins and beggary?"

In its number of the same date, the *Christian Spectator* (whose career extended from 1819–39, and which was the forerunner of the *New Englander*) includes among other literary announcements the completion of Byron's *Don Juan*, likewise Part IV. of *Geoffrey Crayon's Tales of a Traveller*. It discusses, also, the importance and feasibility of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

The *Christian Advocate*—a Presbyterian monthly in its third year, ably conducted by Dr. Ashbel Green, afterwards President of Princeton College—in its "View of Publick Affairs," announces the latest news from Parry and the proposed expedition of Captain Franklin to the Arctic regions, the wavering fortunes of Bolivar in his struggle for the independence of the South and Central American Republics, and the rapid successes of the Greeks in their inspiring revolution against the Turks. The British Army was moving upon Burmah then, as lately upon Theebaw's remnant of that country. A steam gun had just been invented, which was expected to annihilate whole armies, if not grim-visaged war itself. In an interesting article, entitled "Hints to the Wife of a Clergyman," the statement is made that President Burr proposed marriage to Jonathan Edwards's daughter without knowing the young lady, and simply as the result of his reasoning that so admirable a mother could not fail to have an admirable daughter. He is said not to have been disappointed. But how would it have been, if some lady of a logical turn of mind had married Mrs. Burr's hopeful son, Aaron, simply on the faith of *his* mother?

The very first number of the *Biblical Repertory* itself opens a learned discussion, on the negative side, upon the "Propriety of a New Translation of the Scriptures into English." So that, after all, the world may not have moved in all respects as much as we sometimes think.

LABOR STATISTICS.

At the time of this writing fifteen of the States of this country have bureaus of labor statistics, and others may be provided for before this note is in the hands of our readers. There is also a national bureau. The reports issued by the commissioners will attract increased attention to different features of what is called the labor question, and the stimulus thus given to discussion should be worth all the labor and money expended in these investigations. It is not reasonable to expect an immediate solution of the complex and obscure problems which have appeared in connection with the relations between laborers and their employers under modern industrial conditions.

Many of the ideas and suggestions in these reports are, in a sense, inevitable in the present stage of the discussion, and their expression will prepare the way for the examination of more vital and fundamental facts and principles, as these shall rise more plainly into view. Such documents are interesting records of contemporary life and thought, and it is clear that the social phenomena with which they deal are to have an important part in the history of the age.

These bureaus were established in response to the demands of the members or leaders of the labor organizations of the country, who think such statistics highly important, and expect great benefits to result from their collection. The sphere within which statistics are valuable is, in fact, usually a narrowly limited one, and they are often worthless and misleading because too much is expected of them. They are of use in supplying materials for thought, but not as substitutes for it.

In the matter of subsistence for laborers it is necessary, not only to compare their wages with the prices of the various articles which they consume, but to take account of their ability to use or expend their wages so as to obtain most nearly their full value in food and other supplies. If a considerable proportion of the wages of laborers is expended unwisely, or inefficiently, the want and discomfort arising from such waste should not be attributed to low wages. This psychological element in the problem, the training and equipment of workingmen and their wives for the requirements of their position, has received comparatively little attention, thus far, from writers on social phenomena in this country. Its value or significance cannot be fully expressed in statistical form, but careful observation among laborers in nearly all portions of our country results in the belief that, in addition to the loss by the use of intoxicating liquors, from 20 to 35 per cent. of the purchasing power of the wages of American laborers is wasted by reason of the lack of

training and judgment in the selection of materials and the preparation of food, and in their domestic economies in general. From their earliest to their latest years the working people are not taught the things which they most need to know. There is not much prospect, as yet, of any considerable improvement of their condition in this respect.

THE IRISH QUESTION AND ENGLISH POLITICS.

It seems as if Mr. Parnell rather than Mr. Morley had prevailed in the councils of the English premier. At all events Home Rule has had precedence over the Land Question. The most dramatic scene of contemporaneous English history has been enacted on the floor of the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone's scheme of an Irish autonomy has been presented with all the clearness and incisiveness of which the great Liberal leader is a master. It concedes substantially all the Parnellite demands and surpasses in almost every respect the expectations of any but the most advanced Irish partisans.

The serious defections in the Ministry, the intense enthusiasm of Mr. Gladstone's immediate friends and of the Irish members, and the uncertain attitude of the Conservatives make it impossible to predict. It is probable that the bill with some essential modifications will pass, especially as the opposition confines itself to destructive criticism and offers no feasible plan of its own.

But there are two elements of permanent interest which are worthy of remark whatever the result may be. The first is the radical change in the methods and aims of English politics. It has been suggested by the German press that the offer of local self-government is but a feint. Give the Irish rope enough and they will hang themselves. Their incapacity once proven, the old chains will be put on again and the fetters forged tighter than ever. It is preposterous to thus impugn the sincerity of the government, and we are therefore forced to the conclusion that to a great English statesman and to a large and influential body of the English people, the idea of federation as the only hope for the unity of the British Empire no longer seems futile. The rash talk of both anti-Gladstone Liberals and Conservatives about absolute separation, the rumors about the immense demands on the exchequer for carrying out measures of land-reform, the remnants of English pride, the mistakes which may have been made in arranging the order of the legislation necessary to so momentous a plan—all these may impede or even prevent success in the present Parliament and compel a dissolution, but federation has passed through the first stage of mere theory and passed into the second one—that of agitation as a practical measure.

The second interesting feature of Mr. Gladstone's plan is the evident influence of political theory in England as elsewhere in these days. Our times are marked by an activity in the field of political theorizing and of

historical science unequalled since the middle of the last century. One of the greatest living students of history is a member of the Ministry and the premier himself is an adept in theoretical as well as practical politics. Accordingly the House of Commons heard in Mr. Gladstone's speech no very extended reference to English precedents in the treatment of Ireland and Scotland—indeed it would have been destructive to the plan. But very effective use was made of the success with which similar crises had been met in Austro-Hungary and in Scandinavia. There was a marked reliance on national and race enthusiasm, on the adjustment of governmental forms to local needs, on tolerance and moderation in the ruling classes for a minority of widely adverse views and on other considerations which are to be classed as theories rather than deductions from experience. In particular the bi-cameral plan proposed for the Irish legislature sounds like the imaginative scheme of a professor of political science. We seem to be on the eve of an actual attempt to substitute for the old motives of self-interest and expediency in the art of politics new ones which have thus far been sneered at as moral to be sure but impracticable.

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.*

THE three works whose titles are given below might be taken as covering the past, the present, and the future of the English Constitution. It is a rarity in constitutional history that the literature of any people is enriched at once by three works of such importance, each for itself and as supplemental to the others, as these works of Gneist, Dicey, and Maine ; and the coincidence seems to indicate a peculiar interest in the present crisis of the English constitutional system. It is, to be sure, an interest much like that with which one might watch a fine ship endeavoring to claw off a lee shore, now grazing a rock and now taking every advantage of a lull in the wind, but showing in every movement the equal skill of the men who built her and of the men who are sailing her ; but far higher than this cast of speculation is that which looks to the outcome of the system by which one of the greatest of Teutonic peoples has so long believed that it had combined firm government with individual liberty.

Gneist's work, of which Mr. Ashworth gives us a good translation, will undoubtedly have a place of its own. The writing of English constitutional history has its dangers. It is largely shrouded in legal history ; and yet the

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* *The History of the English Constitution.* By Dr. Rudolph Gneist, Professor of Law at the University of Berlin. Translated by Philip A. Ashworth, Barrister. In two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886.

Lectures Introductory to the Study of the Law of the Constitution. By A. V. Dicey, B.C.L., Vinerian Professor of English Law, Oxford University. London: Macmillan & Co., 1885.

Popular Government. Four Essays by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I.,LL.D., F.R.S. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1886.

task cannot be given with safety to a lawyer. Legal fiction either has its hold upon his mind, or seems to him too transparent to need philosophical explanation. To the historian, on the other hand, the *origines* are apt to seem larger than the real historical perspective will warrant. Mr. Freeman, for example, is so interested in the development of the system that he is prone to look upon any halt in or departure from the natural development as a kind of breach of faith with the Anglo-Saxon forefathers who began it. He is fond of recurring to them, of wondering how some new step would strike "a man who had borne his part in the elections of Eadward and of Harold, and who had raised his voice and clashed his arms in the great Assembly which restored Godwine to his lands." This, as Mr. Dicey quite correctly if somewhat flippantly puts it, is much like asking "what a Cherokee Indian would have thought of the claim of George the Third to separate taxation from representation." Doctor Gneist is exempt from either limitation. A lawyer himself, he has yet a strong philosophical interest in the legal fictions which have influenced the history of English law. It would be difficult to refer an unprofessional reader to a clearer statement of the correlation of the great English writs of *certiorari*, *habeas corpus*, and *mandamus* than that given in his second volume. And yet he is able to see and state from the outside more clearly, in all probability, than an English lawyer could see or state the influence of legal upon constitutional development. On the other hand, the forefathers are to him no more than respectable barbarians; he cares only for their instincts, institutions, and customs, out of which grew the English Constitution. His advantages, in both respects, are rather greater than those of von Holst in treating American constitutional history.

It would be difficult to speak too warmly of Gneist's minute accuracy of detail. It is not a mere antiquarianism; the mass of detail is so interwoven with the course of historical development that the most hurried reader must see the close connection of each new germ with the whole development. Not only have we the minutest particulars of the primitive Saxon life and government, but their influence on the struggles which resulted in the first or second expulsion of the Stuarts, or on the modern ministerial system, is kept clear and distinct. One of the fairest and most helpful of Gneist's distinctions, for which he is indebted to English authorities, though he has used it in his own way, is between government by the King in Council and by the King in Parliament. From beginning to end he insists on the weight to be given to the original structure of government by the King in Council as conditioning all that follows. He carries the predominance of the original notion down to the rise of the modern industrial society of England, which was incompatible with it. He considers government by the King in Parliament as an attempt to satisfy the needs of the industrial system, and shows how the attempt is failing through the development of the corporation system in business. And almost the last suggestion in the work, curious as a German solution of the English constitutional difficulties, is that the inevitable disappearance of the spirit of the English Parliament may lead the

people to recur to government by the King in Council. An American, or one of the later English thinkers, would have thought as instinctively of a written and settled Constitution as the solution.

Professor Dicey's work, like Blackstone's *Commentaries*, is one of the fruits of Mr. Viner's foundation of a Law Professorship at Oxford; but it would be difficult to find two works more essentially different than those of the first Vinerian Professor and his latest successor. Legal fictions, which were mysterious and sacred to Blackstone, are to Professor Dicey simply good subjects for the dissecting-knife. As a result, we have the English Constitution as it is, not as people have tacitly agreed to consider it; and he who has read Gneist's work will be at no loss to see the accuracy of Dicey's statements, startling as many of them are. Perhaps the best service which Dicey has done to students of the English Constitution is the clearness with which he has stated the theoretical omnipotence of the English Parliament. It is a body whose legal and political power is absolute in a sense which cannot be paralleled by any power of our Congress, or by any other body except a French revolutionary assembly. The property, the rights, the privileges, of every individual in the kingdom are absolutely at the mercy of a majority of the House of Commons for the time being; and, if such a majority should ever prove to be emancipated from the traditions and moral influences of the past, which have thus far held Parliamentary absolutism in check, the prospects of the individual in the United Kingdom would be far from encouraging.

With this teaching as a starting-point, we come to Maine's work on *Popular Government*. Maine does not pose as an unreserved advocate of popular government. He considers it the most delicate and fragile of governmental systems, requiring the most pronounced political aptitudes in the people who adopt it; and he would be, apparently, as unwilling to use it for the purposes of mere political education as a parent would be to intrust a baby with a hammer and looking-glass as a means of inculcating prudence and self-control. The burden of his complaint is, that the course of political development in Great Britain for the last fifty years has been reckless beyond precedent. The dominant party has put every energy at work to widen the right of suffrage until the proportion of the voting to the entire population is very nearly as large as in our own country. It has brought Democracy into control of the English system almost at a bound; and it has taken no pains whatever to prepare either the new voters for the system or the system for the new voters. The consequences have already been serious. A great mass of political ignorance has been thrust suddenly into possession of a power on which there are no legal or constitutional checks. The English Democracy has been introduced into opportunities for demagogism more tempting than have been seen since the days of Cleon. As yet, the survivors of a past generation of statesmen retain sufficient influence to keep the ship of state near her old course; but it cannot be long before her erratic movements shall convince even her new crew that there is some-

thing more in seamanship and statesmanship than an absolute power over the tiller.

Maine's third essay urges upon his readers the distinction between ordinary and extraordinary, or revolutionary, legislative bodies, the latter being the sovereign conventional body which makes governments and is itself exempt from constitutional restrictions, while the former is in effect the ordinary governmental body. As an example of the latter, the extraordinary body, he instances the revolutionary National Assembly of France ; but there is hardly a paragraph of his discussion of the nature of that body which does not show that he intends it as an illustration of the English Parliament, in the present stage of its development, when the power of the Crown has gone, the power of the Lords is almost nominal, and the Commons is the ruling body. It is natural that one who has been educated to feel warmly about the long struggle of the Commons for recognition should hold the present masterful position of that House to be a just and complete triumph. But there are other aspects of the case to be considered. The triumph of the House of Commons has changed the English government into an absolute despotism of a single house, elected by almost universal suffrage. It can hardly be supposed that thinking Englishmen will be content in the long run with a mode of government from which their political instincts have always revolted, and which has always proved calamitous in other countries.

In his last essay, Maine considers the Constitution of the United States, as the only workable scheme of popular government which has yet been hit upon. In other words, Maine, like Frederic Harrison and a growing number of English thinkers, is satisfied that the "unwritten Constitution" of England is no Constitution at all, and that a universal Democracy must be held in check by permanent restrictions on its governmental action. It was but last year that Professor Woodrow Wilson, in his interesting volume on *Congressional Government*, was urging us to introduce the English system of Parliamentary government, for the sake of its "flexibility" and freedom from such cast-iron rules as those of our Constitution ; and this year Sir Henry Maine is holding up the cast-iron rules of our Constitution as the only hope of safety from a Democratic despotism, short of the familiar refuge of Cæsarism. Congressional government has its evils, and they are many ; but Parliamentary tyranny would hardly be a change for the better.

There is no need of the most profound powers of observation to see that the English constitutional system, which has been for centuries the accepted type of strength and solidity, is now in throes which are almost those of dissolution. The whole civilized world has an interest in the case ; and it is a happy circumstance that these three works, appearing almost together, make up a course of reading on the subject which gives one about all that can be said upon it.

RECENT WORKS IN ENGLISH LETTERS.

We are already indebted to Mr. Saintsbury for an excellent biography of

Dryden. The treatise* here presented is mainly historical, having as its leading aim, to show the gradual development of our prose literature from its crudest beginnings in the Middle-English Period on to the days of its fullest expression in the Georgian Era. It has, also, a distinctively rhetorical and literary character, as indicated in the phrase—English Prose Style, the object being to offer to the student of style carefully selected specimens from English writers, in the light of which his own methods of prose expression may be the more correctly applied. It is, indeed, this special topic that the author discusses in the Introduction, which is a pamphlet in itself, and an admirable exposition of historical English prose in its literary features. Taking up in order the *characteristics* of English prose, the *aims* of its writers, and the various *results* actually attained in their productions, he goes over with critical skill and candor the general area of our prose and furnishes to the inquiring reader many helpful suggestions. Beginning, in the treatise proper, as far back as the time of Malory, he presents longer or shorter extracts from no less than eighty prose writers, closing with a selection from Macaulay.

Apart from the introduction, there is scarcely a line of literary comment on the authors or the subject matter adduced. The book is, thus, nothing more nor less than an English historical and literary reader, differing from other collections of a similar character in that it arranges its specimens in chronological and logical sequence. This is, undoubtedly, just what the author meant it to be, and, yet, the method is open to criticism. We would profit by the "Specimens" all the more, were a few pertinent words of literary comment added to each to interpret the exact place and quality of the example cited. Moreover, we seriously question the necessity in such a work as this of ranging on a common plane so many and such different writers of prose. The historical and philosophic progress of our prose can be better determined by a careful study of its representative names, with the mention of just enough subordinate names to connect the periods and reveal the contrasts. In this particular, Minto has done a more useful work for us than Saintsbury. The method apart, however, the volume is a valuable one and is but another of the numerous evidences of increasing interest in all that pertains to English speech and letters.

Without preface or introduction, Mr. Swinburne begins, at once, the serious discussion of his favorite theme, devoting the larger portion of the volume† to the work of Hugo, and the remaining portion, to a special examination of *La Légende des Siècles*. The treatise might be said to be a companion book to his recent *Study of Shakespeare*, whom he calls "the greatest Englishman of all time" as Hugo is "the greatest Frenchman." These two literary masters, and these only, the author may be said to revere

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* *Specimens of English Prose Style.* G. Saintsbury. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1886 (pp. 367).

† *Victor Hugo.* Charles Algernon Swinburne. Worthington Co., New York, 1886 (pp. 200).

up to the limit of idolatry, and if the distinction must be made, he inclines to give the precedence to the illustrious Frenchman. The book is alike critical and impassioned. It is an affectionate review, in historical order, of Hugo's literary masterpieces, giving occasion at times, on the critic's part, for the most fervent expressions of personal devotion. To him, Victor Hugo is "the son of consolation," the "poet of freedom," the "redeemer and prophet" of his age. He notes his marvellous power as a mere lad in his teens and his still more marvellous versatility of power which on past the period of four-score years continued to express itself with ever-increasing efficacy. Such dramatic efforts as *Ruy Blas* and *Le Roi s'Amuse*, and such lyric collections as *Autumn Leaves* and *Châtiments*, he cannot too strongly praise, while he dwells with special fervor upon the poet's political life and his marked oratorical gifts as displayed in the legislative assembly.

Despite the one defect of the book in the line of exaggerated statement, it is stimulating and suggestive throughout, revealing, on almost every page, those peculiar qualities of English style for which Mr. Stedman so praises the poetry of Swinburne. There is much of that rhythmic order and beauty which we find in the author's best poetry and in the use of which he is without an approximate rival. More than this, we have here, what we do not always have from Mr. Swinburne, high ethical quality throughout, so that the effect of the reading is tonic and refining. We are glad that Victor Hugo has thus found an enthusiastic and a sympathetic critic, and equally glad that the critic himself has thus given us another proof of his rare facility in the great department of English prose expression.

After a dedicatory poem to Mr. Howells and a brief preface, stating the occasion of the lectures* thus presented in collected form, Mr. Gosse discusses the following topics: "Poetry at the Death of Shakespeare," "Waller and Sacharissa," "The Exiles," "Davenant and Cowley," "The Reaction," "The Restoration." In each of these chapters it is not difficult to detect the author of *Seventeenth Century Studies* and the editor of Gray. The book is suggestive and ingenious though in no sense phenomenal. Its primary object is to show, on the one hand, the falsity of the current opinion as to the sources of English classical poetry in France, and, on the other, that its rise is traceable to English influence and, most especially, to the agency of Edmund Waller and his school. The wonder is that Mr. Gosse has written so interesting a book on so uninteresting a theme, on what Mr. Howells happily calls, "these seventeenth century nonentities." The author has done good service in somewhat modifying the exclusive influence assigned to France as the originator of our classical era, and in giving us a large amount of historical information on literary topics, seldom, if ever, brought to notice. Mr. Gosse has, however, as we believe, practically failed to prove his theory and has certainly overreached himself in his labored endeavor to exalt these forgotten rhymesters. Of such poets and poetry as

* *From Shakespeare to Pope.* Edmund Gosse. Dodd & Mead, New York, 1886 (pp. 242).

he in the main adduces, we know quite enough, save as a matter of literary curiosity, while it is most untimely for the interests of a natural literature to magnify to this degree this "mundane school" of versifiers. Would that the most of the exiles had never returned! It is the author's purpose, we learn, to fill up another blank in English letters—that from Chaucer to Surrey. These books should be read not so much for literary profit as to show to what inane extremes English poetry has gone and may go when the spirit of poetry has fled.

The most cursory observation of modern literary progress will reveal the ever-increasing number of books now appearing, bearing upon the history and language, the prose and poetry, of the so-called Anglo-Saxons. In Germany, this deep-seated interest in all that is Teutonic is not a development of recent date, while for the first time in England and America the study of our oldest English literature and speech may be said to be pursued with something like deserved devotion. The labors of Professors March, Corson, Cook, Harrison and others in this country have already given us scholarly grammars and glossaries of First-English, and are fast furnishing to the ambitious student of our tongue all the aids that he needs. The list of these workers on British soil is a long and eminent one and has no worthier name in it than that of Earle. As Rector of Swanwick and Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, he is a signal illustration of that frequent union in English Letters of clerical and literary ability, of the Divinities and the Humanities. The publication of this treatise,* therefore, under the auspices of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, is not a matter of surprise. Opening his volume with a view of the Latin literature preceding that of the Saxons, he continues the history down to the Norman Conquest. In the course of twelve chapters he touches briefly, and yet satisfactorily, on the main topics connected with such a survey. That portion of Ten Brink's *Early English Literature* which is confined to the Saxon period is here presented from a different point of view and with original interest: Palgrave, Wright, Freeman, Stubbs, Kemble, Green and others have given us all that is needed on the people themselves, but not enough as to that which was written among them and by them down to the close of the literary era in 1154. The opening chapter is a terse account of the relation of the home literature to that of foreign nations. In the chapter on Materials, whence the facts are drawn, he dwells with particularity on The Writings as seen in *The Exeter Book* and other collections, and on The Inscriptions as found on stone and metal, in tombs and buildings. Following this, is a brief survey of that Heathen Period (450–600) which made the later Christian era all the more welcome. In chapter fourth, on The Schools of Kent, the educational work of the time is studied in the labors of Hadrian, Theodor, and the Anglo-Latin authors.

Reviewing the Anglian Period (660–820) he names and praises its notable men—Paulinus, Wilfrid, Caedmon, Cuthbert, Bede, Boniface and Alcuin.

* *Anglo-Saxon Literature.* John Earle. E. & J. B. Young, New York, 1884 (pp. 257).

Coming, then, to the discussion of our Primary or Native Poetry, he treats of its structure and literary characters, examining in detail the epic Beôwulf and the more important Ballads. The remaining chapters take up in like manner, The West Saxon Saws, The Chronicles, Alfred's Translations, Aelfric, and The Secondary (foreign) Poetry.

The native literature of First-English is limited in amount and, at the best, somewhat imperfect in the form in which it has come down to us. The anathemas of all English peoples should rest upon the memory of those Danes who in the early centuries despoiled the monasteries of their rarest literary treasures, while lasting praise is due to those who from the days of Parker on, have done what they could to recover that which was lost. Professor Earle in this timely treatise has made an important contribution to the historical study of our birth-tongue, and fitly closes by emphasizing the importance of some substantial interest in this subject on the part of every educated man. Nor are these appeals altogether in vain, "England and the English," as Bulwer phrases it, are coming more and more into prominence, and we are instructed by Elton and others as to their origin. The First Englishmen are undoubtedly abroad in spirit, and even the busiest men of modern times are pausing, now and then, to learn still more of that oldest folk—who they were, how they lived, what they wrote, and, most of all, what speech they spoke and how it stands related to the English of to-day.

The Introductory Note to Mr. White's *Studies in Shakespeare* * tells us that the substance of it has already appeared in the form of periodical essays. It comes to us with painful interest in that during its preparation for the press its author was seized with fatal illness. The four main sections of the work are as follows: "On Reading Shakespeare," "Narrative Analysis," "Miscellanies," "Expositions."

Of the different topics treated, there are some of special attractiveness and profit, such as, On Reading Shakespeare, The Case of Hamlet the Younger, King Lear, On the acting of Iago, and On Glossaries and Lexicons. In commenting on the first of these subjects, the author is thoroughly himself. He gives us the essence of his remarks as he says: "The way to read Shakespeare is, to read him and him only. Don't read any man's notes or essays or introductions. Don't read mine. Read the plays themselves." The critical study of the dramatist the author would, of course, not decry, but he insists upon deferring it to its proper place and time, while even there and then the poet should always be immeasurably greater than his critics. As to what plays are to be at first omitted; as to the period of early life when the reading may best begin; as to the order of reading, and as to the Sonnets—in fine, as to the broad subject of Shakespearian study, the paper is full of valuable suggestions. Nor is this simply because they are given by a scholar conversant with his subject, but because they commend themselves to the intelligent student as rational and

* *Studies in Shakespeare*. Richard Grant White. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York, 1886 (pp. 377).

practical. His trenchant words on the so-called "higher criticism" of Shakespeare, what Aldis Wright terms "sign-post criticism," are well worth heeding as a timely rebuke of that æsthetic extreme to which even scholars are yielding.

As to the Bacon-Shakespeare question, he is more than original and entertaining. He avows himself wholly indifferent upon the subject "whether *Hamlet* and *Othello* were written by Bacon, Shakespeare or John Smith, so they were written by an Englishman, in London, between the years 1590–1610." In deference, however, to the open discussion, he proceeds to show the historical, literary and moral impossibility of the Baconian authorship, and is quite content to rest the entire question on the vital relation of the Sonnets to the Plays.

The volume is racy and readable throughout; full of scholarship, common sense, and pithy sayings. Demolishing at a stroke many of the foolish and fashionable opinions of the day among well-known schools of dramatic criticism, the author gives us a collection of papers as fresh and tonic as a stiff breeze from the north. The treatise fitly marks the close of a life passionately devoted to general English culture and to Shakespearian criticism. Richard Grant White had his own way of viewing and of stating things; he was often eccentric to a fault and, to use his own phrase, not always "rely-on-a-ble." In this book, as in his other books, he at times, leads where we cannot follow, but, in the main, leads safely.

Whatever his errors of judgment may have been, this at least, must be conceded, that his general work in English philology and criticism has given a decided impulse to English studies, while his Riverside Edition of Shakespeare is one of the most notable expressions of recent American scholarship. The place of such literary specialists in the domain of the drama as Hudson and White can scarcely be fully filled.

James Grant Wilson is already known favorably to American readers in his *Poets and Poetry of Scotland* and *Life of Halleck*. Without making any invidious comparisons, it may safely be affirmed that he has written nothing which is more attractive and readable than the volume * before us. As he states in his Preface, the book might appropriately be placed under the head of "Literary Recollections" in the recounting of which he goes over, in the pleasantest manner, the famous list of American authors belonging to the "Old Guard" of Knickerbockers of the first half of the century. After a somewhat extended review of Bryant, from whom the volume takes its name, he dwells, more or less fully, upon the notable authors of that notable school —Paulding, Irving, Dana, Cooper, Halleck, Drake, Willis, Poe, and Taylor, adding a number of brief sketches of less celebrated and yet worthy writers, such as Verplanck, Morris, Tuckerman, and White. From the fact that the author was so highly privileged as to enjoy the personal acquaintance of nearly every writer of whom he speaks, the book fairly bristles with interest

* *Bryant and his Friends.* James Grant Wilson. Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York, 1886 (pp. 434).

throughout, and awakens feelings akin to those of personal friendship. Biography and history, conversation and criticism, quotation and original suggestion, happily combine to instruct and entertain us as we turn the pages. Avoiding alike the extreme of fulsome praise and that of undue severity of judgment, the author presents an honest and appreciative account of these eminent men. It is, distinctively, an American book on American writers, and from the pen of one who, though born in Scotland, has spent his life in America and is, in all respects, one of us. In the discussion of the separate authors, the same general plan is pursued. After a brief reference to ancestry and early life, the record is mainly made up by noting the successive literary productions of the author in question, his influence as a man and a writer, and his proper place in our literature. The sketch of Bryant, constituting nearly one-third of the volume, is a book in itself, while in many of the shorter sketches, as of Cooper, Drake, and Irving, we find much that is new in itself, or new in the method of its statement. One of the best features of the treatise is its adaptedness to young and old; to the literary scholar and the popular reader. Written in graphic, racy and chatty English, it is as pleasing in its æsthetic form as it is in its subject-matter. We rank it among the literary treats of the season and can safely commend it to any one who likes to see the simple manner of Walton and Charles Lamb somewhat reproduced in the present decade. We rise from its reading more in love than ever with that Knickerbocker circle which, however much it may be surpassed in the unfolding future of American prose and song, may never be surpassed, if, indeed, equalled, in a natural, and home-like utterance of the tenderest feelings of the human heart.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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Blackie.—*What does History Teach?* pp. 123. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Blair.—*Unwise Laws. Questions of the Day*, pp. 178. New York, 1886: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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Conn.—*Evolution of To-day*, pp. 342. New York, 1886: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Fauriel.—*The Last Days of the Consulate.* Edited with an Introduction by M. L. Lalanne. pp. 328. New York, 1886: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Gibbons.—*The Physics and Metaphysics of Money.* Pamphlet, pp. 34. New York, 1886: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Godet.—*Commentary on the Gospel of St. John.* Edited by Timothy Dwight, D.D. Vol. i., pp. 559. New York, 1886: Funk & Wagnalls.

Goodale.—*Physiological Botany. Gray's Botanical Text-book.* Vol. ii., sixth edition, pp. 499 and 36. New York, 1886: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Company.

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NICHOLS.—*Letters from Waldegrave*, pp. 178. New York, 1886: James Pott & Co.

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RAGOZIN.—*Chaldea*, pp. 381. New York, 1886: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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REDFORD.—*Four Centuries of Silence, or From Malachi to Christ*, pp. 258. Chicago, 1885: Jansen, McClurg & Co.

RIBOT.—*German Psychology of To-day.* Translated by James Mark Baldwin, pp. 307. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

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SCHAFF.—*St. Augustin, Melanchthon, Neander*, pp. 168. New York, 1886: Funk & Wagnalls.

TALMAGE.—*Sermons.* Vol. iii., pp. 432. New York, 1886: Funk & Wagnalls.

TODD.—*Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, pp. 306. New York, 1886: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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VAN DYKE.—*Theism and Evolution.* With an Introduction by A. A. Hodge, pp. xxii., 483. New York, 1886: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

WELCKER.—*Romer, King of Norway and other Dramas*, pp. 245. Sacramento, 1885.

RECORD.

POLITICS—DOMESTIC.

THE WORK OF CONGRESS.—The completed work of Congress during the first few months of its session makes but a meagre showing. PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION.—Only one important bill has become a law, that, namely, which changes the order of succession to the office of President, in the event of the death, resignation or inability of the elected President and Vice-President. This act was passed by the Senate before the Christmas recess, and by the House of Representatives on January 15, by a vote of 185 to 87, most of the latter being Republicans. It devolves the succession upon the members of the Cabinet in the following order, being that in which the departments were established by law: the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Navy, and Secretary of the Interior. It also repeals that part of the law of 1792 which provides for a fresh election, in certain cases, where the duties of President have devolved upon an officer designated by law. PENSIONS INCREASED.—The only other public act of general interest, if not the only one which may, in strictness, be termed a public act, that has been submitted to the President for his approval, is one which increases the pensions of widows and dependent relatives of soldiers. This act was passed by the House of Representatives on February 1 by a vote of 198 to 66. The minority was, with the exception of two Northern Democrats, composed exclusively of Southern Democrats. The Senate passed the bill without a division on March 16. Each House has, nevertheless, passed a number of important public bills which are now awaiting the action of the other branch. SENATE.—Thus the Senate passed, on January 8, a bill dealing with the problem of POLYGAMY IN UTAH. The vote on the passage of the bill was 38 to 7, not political. [For the text of this bill see Congressional Record for Jan. 9.] A bill to admit the State of DAKOTA to the Union,—the southern half of the present Territory,—was passed February 5, by a vote of 32 to 22, a party vote except that one Democratic Senator voted with the Republicans in the affirmative. AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.—The measure known as the Blair Educational Bill, appropriating many million dollars in aid of public schools in all the States, the amount to be divided in proportion to the illiteracy in each State, as revealed by the census, excited the longest debate of the session. It continued to be the unfinished business of the Senate from Feb. 9 until March 5, when it was passed by a vote of 35 to 12, not political. On March 17 the Senate passed a bill regulating the COUNTING OF ELECTORAL VOTES, without a division. The two leading principles of the bill are: a provision that States may establish tribunals for settling contests over the result of votes for electors of President and Vice-President, a decision by such tribunal to be final as to the true vote of that State; and that no electoral votes, from any State, in case only one set of such votes shall be sent from such State, shall be rejected except by a concurrent vote of the two houses. HOUSE.—The PUBLIC BILLS passed by the House of Representatives were the "Dingley bill," passed Feb. 5, removing certain burdens from American shipping; a bill authorizing national banks to change their location and name; and a bill giving effect to the decisions of the Alabama Claims Court, and finally closing up the business, passed March 16. The disproportion between the work accomplished by Congress and that which it undertakes to perform, is striking. On the 1st of April the number of bills which had been introduced in the Senate since the beginning of the present session was 2022; the number introduced in the House of Representatives was 7478. More than four-fifths of the number in each branch consisted of PRIVATE BILLS, mostly pension and claim bills. Congress is able. in its term of two years, to pass upon only a very small part of these bills. The number of claims accrued is much larger than the numdisposed of. In the last Congress there were 913 claims referred to one committee. Reports were made upon less than one-fifth of this number, and only twelve bills were passed, and the claims were allowed. It costs many times as much money to print the bills of this class which are introduced as it does to pay the claims for which appropriations are made. Thus the business of Congress is choked by a class of measures which cannot be properly considered, and of which those passed are not the most meritorious. Propositions are now pending to refer all claimants to the Court of Claims, and to exclude them from Congress until that tribunal has reported upon their respective cases. CON-

GRESSIONAL FUNERALS.—Meanwhile the waste of public time by the practice of adjourning out of respect to the memory of deceased members, continues. A partial reform of the custom of devoting time to the delivery of eulogies upon such members has been effected by setting apart evening sessions for that purpose. Possibly this change was brought about by the absurdity, of which the House was guilty, of giving an afternoon to the delivery of eulogies upon the "distinguished predecessor" of the member who made the proposition,—that is upon one who had not taken the oath as a member of that body.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.—During the first three months of the year there have been local excitements of average intensity, and to the usual number, over changes in the *personnel* of the civil service. But the general question of the civil service as affecting those officers who are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, has been under discussion in a new and interesting form. The occasion of the controversy, which more than any other issue has developed on party lines, arose out of the declarations of the President in favor of security of tenure for certain classes of public officers, the faithful discharge of whose duties does not require that they shall be in political sympathy with the administration of the day, when such officers had shown their fitness for the trust, and had not misused their positions for personal or political ends. The Senate, controlled by the Republicans, manifested, from the beginning of the administration, a disposition to confirm all nominations of persons to supersede officers holding the higher positions, even in some cases where the office was in no sense political, as well as all nominations of Democrats to fill offices falling vacant by the expiration of the terms of the Republican incumbents. The sole exceptions were those cases in which it seemed to the Republican senators that the persons selected by the President were unfit. No complaint or criticism has been made by the Democrats that in any of either of these classes of nominations, the action of the Senate was illiberal or partisan. There remain those cases in which Republican officers of the middle and lower grades, holding positions not requiring political sympathy between the incumbents and the administration, were suspended during the recess of Congress, under the provisions of the Tenure of Office act, and Democrats were appointed to succeed them. The ground taken by the Republican senators was that unless there were charges, and, indeed, sustained charges, against the character or conduct of the suspended officers, the President was guilty of an inconsistency, and of acting upon the "spoils" system of distributing offices. The President went no further, by way of reply, than to say to those who spoke with him privately on the subject, that he had in every case believed that the changes he had made were for the good of the service. It was manifestly not within the right of the Senate to inquire of the President what were his reasons for making any particular suspension; and yet the Republicans were unwilling, by voting to confirm the President's nominee, to appear as joining in a verdict of condemnation upon the former officer. They therefore adopted the practice of directing the heads of departments to furnish copies of the papers on file relating to the old and the new incumbents; to which the members of the Cabinet replied by transmitting copies of papers upon which appointments were based, while withholding all documents relating to the previous suspension. On the 25th of January the Senate, in order to make a TEST CASE, adopted a resolution calling upon the Attorney General for all papers on file in his office relating to the administration of the office of District Attorney for the Southern District of Alabama. The President and his Cabinet refused to make use of the political pitfall prepared for them, and decided to refuse the request of the Senate. In accordance with a Cabinet resolution, the Attorney General replied, on the 1st of February, that it was not deemed conducive to the public interest to transmit the information desired for the use of the Senate in secret session. This was a tactical victory for the administration, which refused to permit its motives to be judged or reviewed by the Senate. The subject was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, which reported at length on the 18th of February [See Congressional Record, Feb. 19], citing numerous precedents from the beginning of the government to the present time to sustain the position that the right of either branch of Congress to inspect papers on file in the departments had been fully conceded. This report, which was signed by the Republican members of the Committee only, closed with a series of resolutions condemning the refusal of the Attorney General to transmit the papers, and declaring it to be the duty of the Senate to refuse to confirm persons nominated to succeed suspended officers when the papers referring to the suspension were withheld. The MINORITY REPORT [See Cong. Record, March 2] took the ground that inasmuch as the term of Mr. Duskin, the Alabama District Attorney, concerning whose suspension the Senate undertook to inquire, had already expired, the only object in pressing for the papers in his case must be to review an act of the President which was no longer within the jurisdiction of the Senate. It also showed that the only strictly parallel cases to the present were those arising since the passage of the Tenure of Office act in 1867, because the right of the President to remove officers

at his pleasure was conceded up to that time; and it cited some cases since 1867 which, in the opinion of the Democrats who signed the report, were precedents for the present refusal of the Attorney General to produce papers. The President also sent a special message to the Senate on March 1, presenting his views upon the subject and criticising the report of the Committee. Upon the case, as thus made up, a very long debate took place in the Senate, strictly upon party lines, which ended on the 26th of March in the adoption of all the resolutions reported by the majority of the Committee. The vote on the most important resolution, condemning the refusal of the Attorney General to produce the papers, was ayes 32, noes 26, a strict party vote. On the third resolution, declaring it to be the duty of the Senate in all such cases to refuse its consent to removals of suspended officers, two Republicans voted in the negative with the Democrats.

THE TELEPHONE IN POLITICS.—The telephone has begun to play an important part in politics, but the history of the issues it has raised cannot yet be written. It will be sufficient at this time to take note of the beginnings of the several controversies. The first of these relates to the validity of the patent for a telephone issued to Alexander Graham Bell; the second to the connection of the Attorney General and of some other persons in public life, with a rival telephone company; the third, to the charges made by local telephone companies for the use of instruments. The first and second of these matters have a close relation to each other. The Attorney General, while still a Senator from Arkansas, became a large stockholder in the Pan-Electric Telephone Company. During 1885 he was applied to by some of the officers of the company to institute a suit in the name of the United States to test the validity of the Bell patent, on the ground that it was obtained by fraud and collusion with persons in the Patent Office, by which Elisha Gray was deprived of the benefit of a prior invention and application for a patent. Mr. Garland declined to act in the matter, owing to his interest in the rival Pan-Electric Company, and turned the case over to Mr. Goode, the Solicitor General. The latter officer ordered a suit to be brought in the United States Court at Memphis. The party press obtained information as to the case, and represented it as a scandal upon the Administration. The matter was brought to the attention of the President, and by his direction the suit was discontinued. Nevertheless, after a reference of the matter to the Interior Department, and by the advice of the Secretary of that department, a suit was directed to be brought, which, after due preparation, was entered at Columbus, Ohio, on March 23. The connection of the Attorney General with the Pan-Electric Company has been made the subject of investigation by a committee of the House of Representatives, which is (April 1) still pursuing its inquiries.—TELEPHONE TOLLS.—There has been a movement in several States to establish maximum monthly charges for the use of telephones. One such law, passed by the Indiana Legislature, having been pronounced constitutional by the Supreme Court of that State, has led to the withdrawal of telephones from use to a large extent in Indiana. The position of the local company is that, after the payment of royalty to the American Bell Telephone Company, there is not a sufficient amount left of the maximum charge to pay the cost of operation and maintenance. In the Legislatures of several States bills are pending similar to the Indiana law.

THE SILVER QUESTION.—No progress had been made before the 1st of April toward a solution of the much vexed question of the coinage of the silver dollar. But many events had occurred which form a part of the history of the agitation against that coin. On Jan. 8 was published the communication of the President to Congress of the results of observations made in Europe by Mr. Manton Marble, delegated to ascertain the VIEWS OF THE SEVERAL GOVERNMENTS OF COMMERCIAL COUNTRIES on the subject of the monetary standard. The result, in general and in detail, was adverse to hopes that either of these countries, Great Britain, Germany and France in particular, —would coöperate with the United States in an attempt to elevate silver to an equality with gold as a permanent standard of value. These representations, which were in accordance with the judgment of all observers, have been since confirmed officially. The silver question has been separately brought forward in the Parliament of each of the countries named. On February 8 there was a debate in the French Chamber of Deputies in the course of which the government declared its willingness to join with other nations to extend the use of silver, but expressed its disbelief in the favorable disposition of other governments. In the German Reichstag there was a three days' debate on the subject, in the course of which the government intimated that it was willing to institute inquiries, but distinctly pointed out that to hold out any hope that Germany would modify the gold standard was a very different matter. Subsequently the motion which the bi-metallists intended to bring forward in the Reichstag fell through for want of sufficient support. In Great Britain a motion for an official inquiry was opposed by the government, on the ground that such an inquiry would fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Depression in Trade,—thus consigning the subject to a subordinate and incidental position.—In January (22) a meeting was held in London, participated in by

the present, and a former, Governor of the Bank of England, to promote the restoration of silver to the position of a standard of money; steps were taken for the organization of a popular movement in favor of bimetallism.—THE QUESTION AT HOME has excited a great deal of attention, but Congress has taken no action. At the beginning of the session the strong expression of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury in opposition to the continued coinage of the silver dollar led to the belief that the former would endeavor to make the matter a party and an Administration question. But at the beginning of the year the President, in an "interview" with a newspaper correspondent, gave it to be understood that he regarded his functions as purely executive, and that he should not attempt, by other than the ordinary constitutional methods, to influence the action of Congress. This declaration was followed by a great access of boldness and plainness of speech on the part of Democratic champions of silver. The Coinage Committee of the House of Representatives was constituted with Mr. Bland, one of the most radical advocates of free coinage of silver, as Chairman; but the opinions of several of the members were not known. A series of votes taken at a committee meeting on the 15th of February showed that there was not a clear majority in favor of any affirmative proposition. It was decided to report adversely upon the free coinage bill of Mr. Bland, but the Committee refused to report favorably a bill to suspend the coinage. In both the Senate and the House of Representatives the question has been touched upon several times, both in set speeches and in an incidental way, when the arrangement of public business has been under discussion. By vote of the House, in conformity with a request by the Coinage Committee, several Saturday sessions were set apart for debate upon the adverse report on free coinage, and the 8th of April was fixed for closing the debate and voting upon the measure. Athough no test vote, indicating clearly the division of members upon this question, had taken place at the end of March, yet it was maintained on the one side and admitted on the other, that a decided majority of members in each branch of Congress was opposed to a suspension of the present coinage.

THE FISHERIES TREATY.—Some agitation has been observed on the question of the fishery rights of Americans in British waters. The Secretary of State and some other gentlemen who are supposed to reflect his views, have expressed a wish to enter into negotiations with Great Britain on this subject, and perhaps also on that of more extensive reciprocity with Canada. The northern fishermen, however, deny with some vehemence that they desire any rights of inshore fishing, or in fact any concessions other than that to which all men are entitled of natural right. They therefore most earnestly oppose the movement in the direction of a treaty.

THE LABOR SITUATION.—At no former time in the history of the country has the normal relation between employer and employed been so greatly disturbed as it was during the first three months of 1886. The causes of these troubles have covered every class of grievances of which working people are wont to complain. A comparatively large proportion, numerically, of the strikes has been due to demands for advance in wages, but this class of disturbances has been significant of nothing more than the generally unsatisfactory condition of labor. Those which have been undertaken to compel the retention or the discharge of workmen, or to compel employers to amend the working rules of their establishments, or to obtain the recognition of trade unions—particularly of the greatest and most comprehensive union ever formed in this country, the Knights of Labor—and, above all, those strikes which have apparently been undertaken by bodies of employés who had no grievance of their own for the sole purpose of helping other strikers—these furnish the most interesting, noteworthy, and important labor disturbances of the time. A history, even a list, of the troubles would be manifestly out of place here. It is not possible to do more than direct attention to the most striking features of the labor situation. First, as to the EXTENT OF THE DISTURBANCES. In the middle of March *Bradstreet's* gave a summary account of strikes which showed more than fifty thousand men then idle in consequence of disputes with their employers. It is not an exaggerated estimate that this number did not account for more than one-half of those who, at some time during the first three months of the year, were engaged in strikes. Secondly, as to the peculiar PUBLIC INCONVENIENCE entailed by many of the strikes. It is necessary only to refer to the interruption of business on the elevated railway of New York and on the street railways of New York, Brooklyn, and other cities; to the stoppage of all freight traffic, and for a time of passenger business, on an important railroad system of the Southwest; and to the consequences upon the iron trade of the strike in the coke region, to show how serious an injury to others beside the employers of the strikers was the refusal of the latter to continue at work. Thirdly, as to the introduction of the system of BOYCOTTING. The cases in which social and commercial excommunication has been pronounced against persons, firms, and corporations guilty of offending against the decrees of labor organizations, have not been numerous. The cases where the sentence has been carried out to the serious injury of the parties against whom it was pronounced, have been remarkably few. Yet it is clear to all observers that a method of dealing with

rebellious capitalists has been discovered which, the conditions being favorable, will place in the hands of labor a power of coercion greater than was ever exercised or even desired by capital. Fourthly, and by far the most important of all, as to the results of a GENERAL COMBINATION OF WORKING PEOPLE. The organization of the Knights of Labor is the legitimate and the logical sequence of the simple trade union. The shoe-bottomers of Lynn form a union, and support by their contributions the workmen in any shop who demand a revision of the rate of wages, or who protest against the discharge of a workman for a cause which they do not approve. If there is a reason for such a union there is one equally good, in the desire of men to maintain what they conceive to be the rights of those of their own class, for a general union of all the shoemakers of Lynn; and, by another step, of all the shoemakers of Massachusetts. Such an organization, known as "Knights of St. Crispin" existed and flourished in Massachusetts for some years before 1870, and exercised not a little political influence in the Commonwealth. Another step brings us to a general union of all shoemakers in the United States, and the final process is the grand national combination of wage earners which we see in existence to-day. This is not a history of the actual process, but it illustrates the fact that the principle and the germ of the Knights of Labor organization exist in every trade union, however small.—The greatest demonstration of the power and the weakness of the Knights of Labor has been given in the case of the great STRIKE ON THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILROAD,—of their power in the fact that thousands of men were willing, at the command of their chosen superiors in the order, to undertake a strike without a substantial grievance of their own, in order to make effectual a strike against another corporation not controlled by their own employers; of weakness, in the inability of the national organization to control the local authorities which resolved on a strike. The Texas Pacific and the Missouri Pacific Railroads are both parts of what is known as the "Gould system." The latter company had a difficulty with its employés in 1885, which was settled by concessions on the part of the railroad company, and it was agreed between the corporation and the "Grand Master Workman" of the Knights of Labor, in August, that no strike by the employés should be undertaken in the future until a conference had taken place in reference to the alleged grievances. About the beginning of March the employés of the Texas Pacific Railroad, the property of which was in the hands of a receiver appointed by a court, took umbrage at the discharge of one of their number. Their understanding of the matter was that the cause of discharge was the prominence of the man in the Knights of Labor organization. For this assault upon their order—it is fair to say that the receiver denied that this was the cause of discharge—the employés of the Texas Pacific resolved to strike. It was openly proclaimed at the time that inasmuch as "the Texas Pacific was Jay Gould," and as it was against that railroad operator that the Knights of Labor had a grievance, the only effectual way to carry on the war so as to compel him to yield, was by a strike on the whole system,—on the prosperous Missouri Pacific as well as the bankrupt Texas Pacific. At all events the strike on the Missouri Pacific began at once, and that too without any allegations on the part of the employés of that road that they had a grievance of their own. At a later date, when they were upbraided upon the weakness of their cause, they produced a catalogue of wrongs; but the fact that the strike was undertaken at the request of the Texas Pacific men seems to be conclusive as to these wrongs having been an afterthought. It may be said without the possibility of giving just cause of offence, that unless the wrongs were real the strike on the Missouri Pacific was a wanton outrage, since no person having any authority in the Missouri Pacific Company, not even Jay Gould himself, could exercise control to the smallest degree over the receiver of the Texas Pacific, who was the agent and the officer of a court. Consequently the person named, the other directors of the corporation, its stockholders, and the public dependent upon the road, were to be punished for an offence committed by no one of them, and one for which they were neither responsible nor could apply a remedy. The strike itself was one of almost unexampled character in its incidents. The striking workmen committed many acts of violence. They intimidated the engineers and firemen of the locomotives (who had not joined in the strike) and they forcibly prevented the running of trains. Railroad traffic at St. Louis was almost completely suspended for some days. The Governors of Missouri and Kansas endeavored ineffectually to bring the difficulty to an end. Trains made up and loaded with policemen were attacked and "side-tracked," and the engines were "killed." At length the right of the company to move its trains was to a certain extent maintained, by the assistance of the public authorities, and traffic was partially resumed. Meanwhile Grand Master Workman Powderly undertook to put a stop to a condition of things which was subversive of the rules of the order of Knights of Labor and of the authority of its Executive Board, and calculated to bring the order into disrepute. He issued a secret circular to all Knights of Labor, forbidding temporarily the admission of new members, and advising them to be more patient, more careful of the reputation of the order, and more observant of the principles of the organization. At the same time he addressed a communica-

tion to Mr. Gould proposing a conference in order to put a stop to the strike. The negotiations which followed resulted in an order from the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor that the Missouri Pacific employés should return to work, pending the settlement of the questions at issue. But this order, based upon an understanding that the officers of the company had made concessions which they denied having made, was subsequently withdrawn. Traffic had been resumed on the road on the 1st of April, but without the help of the strikers. The trouble was not at an end at the date this record closes.

OHIO.—A remarkable political contest raged in the Ohio Legislature during the whole month of January. It grew out of the following events: At the election in October the result in Cincinnati (Hamilton County) was alleged by Republicans to have been reached by fraud, the returns having been so falsified as to show the election of four senators and ten representatives upon the Democratic ticket, whereas, according to the Republican contention, all the candidates of that party were really elected. The case was, prior to the meeting of the legislature, brought to the notice of the Circuit Court, which directed the county clerk to certify the election of the Republican candidates. From this decision an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, which reversed the decision. In every case the judges took a view favorable to the party to which they respectively owed an election. The Democratic clerk of Hamilton followed the example set him in these high quarters, and certified the election of the Democratic candidates. The lower house of the legislature was not affected in its political majority by this action, for the Republicans still had control of the House; but the Senate, including the four Democratic members for Hamilton County, consisted of twenty Democrats and seventeen Republicans. Such was the situation when the legislature met on the 4th of January. In each house the Democratic members whose rights were contested, were duly qualified by oath. The House of Representatives made short work, however, with these members. Taking cognizance of the state of facts ascertained in the hearing before the Circuit Court, maintaining that fraud was proved conclusively, the majority passed resolutions declaring the Democrats not entitled to the seats; and nine Republicans were admitted in the room of as many Democrats. In the Senate, however, they dela in counting the Hamilton County vote having postponed also the inauguration of the newly-elected Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the Democrats took advantage of the allotted space to fortify their positions. They arranged the committees so that they could maintain complete control of the business, and they made certain radical amendments to the rules of parliamentary procedure which, among other novelties, gave to the clerk of the Senate concurrent authority with the presiding officers to declare votes. When the new Lieutenant-Governor (Republican) took the chair, he found his authority to preside over the Senate, conferred by the Constitution of the State, impeded by these novel rules. Several conflicts of authority took place in open Senate. The Lieutenant-Governor decided that none of the Hamilton County Senators had a right to vote on any main or collateral question involving their right to their seats. The clerk refused to recognize the validity of this decision and persisted in calling the names of all the senators borne upon his roll. At last, a series of events which it is not necessary to mention in detail, led to a division of the Senate in two, —one half presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor, the other by a President *pro tempore*. The clerk adhered to the latter body, and the former was served by a senator as clerk *pro tempore*. This separation took place on January 22, and the rest of the month was occupied in efforts, more or less sincere, on the part of both wings to reunite the Senate, though neither side was willing to yield any advantage, or pursue any course that might result in the triumph of its opponents. At last a plan was agreed to by which a committee evenly divided between the two parties was charged with the investigation, which has been proceeding since that time and is not concluded at the close of the period under review (April 1). The manœuvres of the senators on either side were a contest over technicalities; for the Democrats, on the one hand, did not venture to assert a decided disbelief in the frauds by which the political balance of the Senate was changed. They only insisted upon an investigation by a committee already made up in the interest of the sitting members. The Republicans, on the other hand, denied the right of the sitting members to be, directly or indirectly, judges in their own cases, neglecting the fact that these Senators were quite as competent and unprejudiced as any other Democratic or Republican Senator. The whole case was an admirable example of the invariably bad working of the rule, universal in American legislatures from Congress down, which makes each body the judge of the election of its own members.

THE VIRGINIA DEBT.—On the 1st of February the Supreme Court of the United States decided a series of cases involving the validity of laws passed by the Virginia Legislature to prevent the use of coupons of the bonds representing the "readjusted" debt, in payment of dues to the State. The decision was adverse to these laws. It was declared that the tender of coupons was a good tender; and that, should the State au-

thorities refuse good coupons on the ground of a suspicion as to their genuineness, further proceedings against the debtor would be invalid. The decision carried with it a condemnation of all the devices by which Virginia endeavored to evade the contract with its creditors.

CORRUPTION IN NEW YORK CITY.—A very remarkable investigation has been in progress, conducted by a committee of the New York Senate, in reference to the means by which the Board of Aldermen of New York city, for the year 1884, was induced to grant a franchise for a surface railway in Broadway. It was strongly suspected at the time and has been believed ever since that the inducement was a bribe, offered and received. But so cunningly had the speculators who obtained the charter covered up their financial operations, that for a long time the committee succeeded in doing no more than showing that those who were suspected must have had a strong motive for concealing something, and in converting the probability that corrupt practices had prevailed into something little less than a moral certainty. The missing link in the chain of evidence was supplied in March, by a publication of the fact that a shrewd detective had succeeded in insinuating himself into the confidence of one of the Aldermen, the Vice-President of the Board of 1886, from whom he had drawn a confession which was overheard by others that he had received $20,000 for his vote in favor of the railroad.

"PROCEEDING BY INFORMATION."—In the endeavor to punish the authors of certain election frauds in Chicago, the District-Attorney proceeded against the accused persons, not by procuring their indictment by a grand jury, but "by information." The prisoners were convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. The case was carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States on an appeal by the prisoners' counsel, who contended that an offence punishable with imprisonment was an "infamous crime" within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, which forbids the trial of persons for such crimes except upon presentment by a grand jury. The Supreme Court accepted this view of the matter and so decided on March 22.

THE SOUTH.—The condition of the South has been for the most part peaceful and orderly, as it has been for some years past. But on the 17th of March a conflict of races took place at Carrollton, Mississippi, resulting in the death of nearly twenty colored men, who were fired upon while attending a trial in a court-house. As usual in such cases each party laid the blame of the quarrel upon the other. No inquiry into the causes of the difficulty seems to have been made, and there is no attempt making to bring the guilty persons to justice.

THE LOSS OF THE OREGON.—Early on the morning of Sunday, March 14, the Cunard steamship *Oregon* came in collision with an unknown schooner, whose bow penetrated the steamship's hull and caused her to founder about eight hours later. The collision took place south of Long Island, the *Oregon* being within a few hours of New York, her destination. The night was dark but clear, and the steamship had her usual lookout on duty, but the schooner was not perceived until it was too late to avert the collision. All the passengers and crew were saved.

McCLELLAN—HANCOCK—SEYMOUR.—It was a singular fatality which removed, within the space of three months, the Democratic candidates for the Presidency in 1864, 1868, and 1880. General McClellan died in December, 1885, and Mr. Seymour and General Hancock in February, '86.

THE HISTORY OF PRICES.—The average prices of commodities in 1885, as compared with 1860, as ascertained by Mr. W. M. Grosvenor, were 77.43 per cent; or 22.57 per cent. lower in 1885 than in 1860.

NEGRO EMIGRATION WESTWARD.—Large numbers of negroes are moving westward. The points of departure are the Carolinas, Alabama and Georgia, and the destination Arkansas and other points in the south-west. Some of the emigrants are bound for California.

POLITICS—Foreign.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.—During the first quarter of the year 1886, an exceedingly complicated branch of the Eastern Question was settled, so far as a settlement of any part of that question is ever reached. The danger arose out of the revolution in September, 1885, in Eastern Roumelia, by which a union of that Berlin-treaty-created State with the principality of Bulgaria had been effected. The revolution was, in the nature of things, a direct blow at the power of Turkey; it was highly displeasing to Russia, which had lost much of its influence with Prince Alexander, of Bulgaria; it was annoying to the other Powers which made the Berlin treaty, as an infraction of that disagreement; and, finally, it was taken by Servia and Greece as a menace, in that it gave what they regarded as undue prominence and power to one of the Balkan States. Servia had accordingly made war upon Bulgaria, with results disastrous to itself; but, although compelled to agree to an armistice which was to last until the first of March, abated none of its demands upon Bulgaria, continued its military preparations, and held language which implied a renewal of the war at the expiration of the truce. Its disposition—owing in no small degree to the perilous position in which King Milan might be placed, with respect to his own subjects, should the con-

test with Bulgaria result in the annihilation of Servia—was shown in the difficulties placed in the way of diplomatic negotiations for the establishment of a permanent peace.

GREECE.—During the month of January the point of danger, however, was Greece. This kingdom had been mobilizing its army since the early autumn. At the very beginning of the year its government addressed a vigorous note to the Powers, complaining of the absorption of a large population of Greek nationality by the act of Bulgaria, and demanding as compensation the restoration of its original boundary as fixed by the Berlin Congress. Such an amendment of the frontier involved further territorial loss on the part of Turkey; and the threat of hostilities caused the Porte to augment its military force in the field. The danger of a fresh outbreak of the war between Servia and Bulgaria being postponed, the Powers addressed themselves first to the difficulty in Greece. Concert of action seemed for a time impossible, since Russia persistently rejected every suggestion made from other quarters for dealing with any branch of the Balkan question. At length all the Powers agreed, about the 9th of January (on the motion of Russia, which had once repelled the idea when advanced in identical form by Italy), to send a collective note to Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece, summoning them to disarm, and virtually promising that should they do so Turkey should also demobilize its army. This note was presented to the several governments concerned on the 11th and 12th of January. A hasty and partially successful attempt to form an alliance between Servia and Greece followed. Bulgaria replied to the note with an expression of willingness to disarm when Servia should take the first step in that direction. About the 17th Servia and Greece each replied, declining to heed the advice of the Powers. At this time the war excitement in Greece was intense; the people clamored for war, and the government either sympathized with the popular feeling or yielded to the storm. A second demand by the Powers met with no better success than the first had achieved. When, however, the activity of the Greek Government led it to make preparations which indicated a naval attack upon Turkey, the already moribund British Cabinet of Lord Salisbury determined upon a course which eventually caused the indefinite postponement of the attack by Greece. A British naval force was ordered to the scene, with orders to prevent Greece from beginning a naval war. Subsequently a powerful German ironclad, with similar instructions, was despatched to the Greek coast. Upon the accession of Mr. Gladstone the Athens Government was plainly notified that the Liberal statesman would continue the policy of his Conservative predecessor, and M. Deliyannis, the Greek premier, was given distinctly to understand that while the course Greece was pursuing tended directly to forfeit for it the sympathy of Europe, under no circumstances would it be permitted to profit by any success it might have in a contest with Turkey, for no change of frontier would be sanctioned as the result of its military enterprise. To such coercion as this Greece was forced to yield. But it did so with bad grace, refusing to admit that its policy was changed, holding language alternately surly and defiant, and, to the end of the period covered by our review, making ostentatious war preparations which only advertised its own impotence.

BULGARIA AND SERVIA.—Meantime, under the coercive policy of the Powers, Servia was compelled to permit peace negotiations to be begun. After delays caused by objections on the part of King Milan to nearly every detail of the conference, the delegates met at Bucharest. Many meetings were held, and little progress was made. Servia objected to every proposal emanating from Bulgaria. At length, toward the end of February, the Government of Turkey proposed, as a treaty of peace, a single article declaring that peace and friendship were restored between Servia and Bulgaria. Servia objected even to this. There was many a smile in diplomatic circles at the unwillingness of the inexperienced ministers to assent to the formal (and meaningless) declaration of friendship; but in deference to the scruples of Servia the words were omitted, and the treaty as signed was merely a declaration that peace was restored. In the English version the treaty contains only twenty-four words, a model of brevity. It was signed by the plenipotentiaries on the 3d of March, and the ratifications were exchanged within the prescribed time.

TURKEY AND BULGARIA.—There remains to be noticed the composure of the difficulty which was the cause of all the other troubles: the question of the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. The facts regarding this matter are few and easily understood; the intrigues, the rumors, the contending interests, are innumerable, and can be barely mentioned. The key to the whole situation is in the respective attitudes of the Czar, the Porte, and Prince Alexander. The Prince, who had already thrown off his serfdom to Russia, readily persuaded the Porte of his willingness to make the union of "the two Bulgarias" a source of strength to Turkey rather than of a danger to her peace. The two parties most immediately concerned, therefore, found no difficulty in reaching an agreement satisfactory to both. The Powers, with the single exception of Russia, were willing that Turkey and Bulgaria should come to terms, recognizing the result of the Philippopolis revolution of September, although it was a violation of the Berlin Treaty. Russia objected most strongly. The Czar

was known to cherish personal ill-will toward Prince Alexander. He justly regarded any settlement which was acceptable to Turkey as a blow at his own authority in the East. Accordingly he vetoed, emphatically, and as the event proved, effectively, every part of the plan which was agreeable either to Prince or to the Porte. The agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria was signed on the 2d of February. By its terms Prince Alexander was confirmed in his office as Governor General of Eastern Roumelia, so long as he maintained a loyal attitude toward the Porte, but his functions were to be renewable every five years by imperial firman. In case of invasion of Turkey, Bulgaria was to afford military assistance, and Turkey undertook to assist Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia in case of foreign aggression. Furthermore, it was agreed that the "organic statute," or constitution of Eastern Roumelia, should be revised by Turkey and Bulgaria in their joint interest. As has been said, the other Powers were willing to accept this plan, but in deference to Russia they did not insist, and in the end the plan was so modified that substantially nothing of it remained. As it emerged from the moulding process to which it was subjected at St. Petersburg, the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia was not personal to Prince Alexander, nor were the functions of the Prince as Governor General of Roumelia specific as to time; the whole stipulation with regard to military assistance was cancelled; and while it was agreed that the organic statute must be revised, it was provided that until the proposal of revision was submitted to the Powers, the changes were to be accepted only in principle. The Powers allowed all these modifications to be made at the dictation of Russia, and the two countries most concerned submitted, because they could not do otherwise. It was not until after the beginning of April that Prince Alexander yielded most reluctantly to "the will of Europe,"—that is to the demands of Russia, which were accepted by the other Powers because these latter did not care to take the consequences of rejecting them.

In this review of the very important events of a quarter-year crowded with incidents, many incidents concerning which it might be questioned if they are not of the first importance, are necessarily omitted. One only of such matters will be referred to here, not because of present importance but because it may have in it the germ of future events that will modify history. Reference is made to the open diplomatic flirting between the Czar and PRINCE NITIKA of Montenegro. The Prince is father-in-law of Karageorgevich, the pretender to the Servian throne. He is ambitious and able; and much public importance was attached to a visit he made during the period under review to St. Petersburg, where he received attentions in imperial circles so far beyond what his rank entitled him to receive, that much significance was attached to the manifestation of Court favor.

This account should not close without the remark being made that the whole course of events since September last has won for PRINCE ALEXANDER of Bulgaria very high rank as a statesman, both in respect of ability and prudence.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Irish question is the pivot upon which turned the great events of the first three months of the year in Great Britain. At the beginning of the period affairs were in a state rarely seen in English politics. The policy of the Government was undetermined; the Liberals were still discussing the proposals attributed to but denied by Mr. Gladstone; and the Home Rulers were waiting for Mr. Parnell to speak. The country wished to know how little would satisfy the Irish leaders, many Liberals were alarmed lest Mr. Gladstone should go too far with his concessions, and the Cabinet was visibly embarrassed by the necessity either of conciliating the Home Rulers, or of endeavoring to detach from Mr. Gladstone a portion of the Liberal Party. The latter course was at last chosen. It was determined to make the continued practice of boycotting an excuse for proposing a renewal of the lapsed Coercion Act. It was a part of the same plan to abolish the office of Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy, of Ireland, held by the amiable and personally acceptable Earl of Carnarvon, and to appoint a Secretary for Ireland, to be a member of the Cabinet. The latter part of this plan was made public in advance of the meeting of Parliament; the revival of coercion was not foreshadowed until the Queen's speech was read, and even then it was taken by the Irish to be nothing more than a threat to be followed by a surrender. Just before the assembling of Parliament, on the 11th of January, a convention of Irish members was held at Dublin. Neither Mr. Parnell nor any of his most active lieutenants was present, and the meeting was a failure. The country was left in uncertainty as to the purposes of the leader. Parliament met on the 12th. The first interesting incident of the session was the ADMISSION OF MR. BRADLAUGH to the full rights of membership, after a protracted struggle lasting more than five years. This was due to the decision of the Speaker (Mr. Peel, who had been reëlected without opposition) that neither he nor the House could take cognizance of what had happened in former Parliaments, and that there was no authority that could be interposed between Mr. Bradlaugh and the privilege, which was also a statutory obligation, to take the oath. Several days having been occupied in the administration of the oath to members of the two Houses, PARLIAMENT was formally opened on the 21st by the QUEEN IN PERSON. This was her

first appearance on such an occasion since 1877, and the ceremonial was one of unusual pomp and display. The Queen's speech contained nothing for which the world was not prepared, except a vague promise of repressive legislation for Ireland, and so little weight was given to this that it was not violently attacked even by the Irish themselves. The debate on the address in reply to the speech from the throne proceeded somewhat languidly until the 26th, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, leader of the House of Commons, announced that the Government would introduce a bill to suppress the National League and other dangerous societies. The purpose evidently was, as has been intimated, to rally to the support of the Government the Whigs and moderate Liberals who could be detached from the support of Mr. Gladstone, on the cry of the unity of the Empire; and to secure compensation in that way for the inevitable loss of all the Irish party. But it was a mistake, and THE CABINET FELL, on the same day, on a question which did not involve the Irish question or the unity of the Empire. Soon after the intense excitement which the announcement by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had caused among the followers of Mr. Parnell had somewhat subsided, Mr. Jesse Collings, a Radical member, offered an amendment to the address, expressing regret that the Government had not promised to introduce a measure to facilitate the acquisition by farm laborers of small allotments of land on favorable terms as to rent and tenure. This amendment referred to a pet measure for the benefit of the newly enfranchised county voters, known, in the political slang of the day, as "THREE ACRES AND A COW." An act was passed in 1882 to make allotments of reclaimed common lands, illegally fenced in, to laborers; but although it was compulsory in its terms the local authorities who had the execution of the law in their hands had contrived to evade it. A few days before the meeting of Parliament an important session of an association having for its object to secure the execution of the law, and to procure an extension of its provisions so that landlords might be compelled to sell lands for allotment, was held in London. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Collings and was addressed by Mr. Chamberlain.—Mr. Gladstone supported the amendment of Mr. Collings, which was opposed not only by the ministers but by Lord Hartington. The Irish party, when the division took place, went into the opposition lobby, and the government was defeated,—329 to 250—a numerically small but influential body of Liberals voting with the ministry. A Cabinet Council was held the next day and the Cabinet resigned. MR. GLADSTONE'S THIRD MINISTRY.—Mr. Gladstone, who was at once summoned by the Queen and commanded to form a Cabinet, found his task beset with some difficulties, owing to the defections just mentioned. Lord Hartington, Lord Selborne, Lord Derby, and Sir Henry James, all members of his former ministry, and all except the last named in the Cabinet, found themselves unable to coöperate with him; and Sir Charles Dilke was involved in a domestic scandal then pending in the Divorce Court which put him out of the question. In spite of these misfortunes, however, Mr. Gladstone succeeded in forming a Cabinet which commanded the confidence of a majority of the House of Commons, and which was announced at the beginning of February. The most significant appointment was that of Mr. John Morley, to be Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Morley was the one Liberal of high standing in the party who was avowedly in favor of granting home rule to Ireland. His attitude, combined with the ardent purpose of Mr. Gladstone to solve the problem of Ireland by going as far as he safely could to meet the wishes of the Nationalist Party, determined Mr. Parnell's policy. He resolved, for the time at least, and pending the full development of the Premier's plans, to support the Government. All the ministers were reëlected, after their acceptance of office, and in every case of contest by an increased majority, and the business of Parliament was resumed. No progress was made during the period under review toward a settlement of the Irish question, nor were the propositions of the Prime Minister made public in an authoritative form. MR. GLADSTONE'S PLANS FOR IRELAND.—On the 12th of February, in a letter to Lord De Vesci, Mr. Gladstone expressed his desire to hear from all classes of the Irish people what modifications of the *status* they desired. The most important reply he received, and the only one which had much publicity, was that of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Doctor Walsh, who demanded for the Irish people (1) Home Rule; (2) a settlement of the land question by purchase of landlords' interests by the Government; (3) a stop to be put to evictions; and (4) that public works be undertaken to relieve distress by giving employment to labor. Rumors as to the nature of Mr. Gladstone's plan were numerous during February and March, but nothing authentic was published. It was understood that an Irish Parliament would be conceded, and that a grand scheme of appropriation was contemplated; but manifestly the acceptability of each of these propositions depended upon its form and its details, as to which the public was left in ignorance. There have been dissensions in the Cabinet.

RIOT IN LONDON.—A great riot took place in London on Feb. 8, and rioting continued, though less successfully, on the following day. The trouble began at a

meeting of the unemployed which was called to meet in Trafalgar Square. A vast throng of men assembled, composed of three classes: actual workingmen, Socialists, and habitual criminals. Certain Socialist leaders insisted upon addressing the meeting, and inflamed the passions of their hearers to such a degree that after a successful encounter with the police they started upon a raid against property. The mob moved through some of the richest trading quarters of the West End, sacking shops and breaking windows. The professional thieves made off with whatever they could lay hands upon, while the Socialists carried out their principles by the simple destruction of property. In these excesses very few of the real working people took part. The inefficiency of the London police was most strikingly displayed. The force was badly handled, or not handled at all. Men who might have been moved to the scene of disorder, and who might, under good leadership, have quelled the riot, were not marched from their quarters, and the superior officers, who were watching events, neither consulted together nor gave any orders. On the following day the strange course was adopted of advising shop-keepers in the threatened district to close and bar their doors and windows, this being, in effect, a confession of expected defeat. By these riots a vast amount of property was destroyed, but no life was lost. The public indignation at the incompetency of the police led to the resignation of the Chief, Colonel Henderson, which was promptly accepted. On New-Year's Day the annexation of the Kingdom of BURMAH to the British Empire was proclaimed at Rangoon and Mandalay. Some serious disturbances have since taken place, and bands of Burmese who refuse to accept British rule are still active. During February the House of Laity, a new body which meets in connection with convocations, considered the need of REFORM IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH, and expressed itself strongly against the scandal of the sale of advowsons. A debate took place in the House of Commons, March 9, on a motion by Mr. Dillwyn, declaring in favor of a disestablishment of the Church in Wales. An amendment pronouncing for a reform of that Church was carried by 251 against 151, and then the amended resolution was rejected by an overwhelming vote.

FRANCE.—M. Grévy held his usual reception on New Year's Day. The absence of M. Brisson, the Prime Minister, between whom and the President there was much irritation, foreshadowed the complete breach between them which was announced a few days later. M. Brisson and his colleagues in the ministry had already resigned, and M. de Freycinet had been requested (Dec. 31) to form a government. It was not, however, until the 4th of January that M. de Freycinet consented to undertake the task. He was deterred by the evident difficulties in the way of composing a cabinet that could command a trustworthy majority of the Chamber of Deputies. These difficulties were so great that it was not until the 8th that the new ministry was gazetted. The chief obstruction was caused by M. de Fallières, of the Opportunist group, who would accept no position except that of Minister of the Interior, while the assignment of that portfolio to him was certain to alienate the more advanced Republicans, and prevent some politicians of that stripe, whose presence in the Government was much desired, from joining the ministry. The difficulty was surmounted by passing M. de Fallières by altogether. One-half of the new Cabinet consisted of members of the late Government, the positions of some of them being changed, however; and one-half consisted of new men. As a whole the Cabinet marked a still further drift toward the Left. The Chambers were opened, for the session of 1886, on the 12th. M. Floquet was reëlected President of the Chamber of Deputies, and a day or two later M. LeRoyer was also reëlected as President of the Senate. On the 14th the message of M. Grévy, on his reëlection as President of the Republic for a term of seven years, was read in the Chambers, and on the 16th the ministerial declaration of policy was read. Each of these papers created an excellent impression and was well received. The new Government laid out a plan of reform to which the Conservatives could take no verbal exceptions, while it held out hopes to the Radicals. It had been supposed that M. de Freycinet, sacrificing the support of the Opportunists could not form a durable government; but opinion changed on this point after the ministerial declaration was made. A new group was formed, of supporters of the Cabinet, termed the Union of the Lefts, which for the time seemed to promise the maintenance of a government majority. The policy with respect to the colonies and the protectorates, under the new ministry, becomes distinctly less adventurous. AMNESTY.—The President, on the occasion of his reëlection, proclaimed a pardon of all persons condemned for political offences since the days of the Commune. Under this proclamation such offenders as Prince Krapotkine and Louise Michel were set at liberty. The Swiss Republic refused to allow the Prince to reside upon its soil. The French irreconcilables rejected the principle of the President's pardon, and a bill was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies granting full amnesty to all political offenders. The government, opposing the motion of "inquiry" upon this bill, was defeated by three majority in the Chamber, on the 21st, but the check was not regarded as serious. Legislative events have not been very important during the months of February and

March. The government has sustained itself well, and has carried all the measures upon which it laid much stress.—A treaty of peace with MADAGASCAR on terms not favorable to French pretensions was concluded January 15, and gave rise to debates in the Chambers in March. It was ratified first by the Deputies and afterward by the Senate.—On February 22, PRINCE NAPOLEON, popularly known as Plon-Plon, issued a manifesto in which, under the pretext of protesting that he accepted the Republic he made a savage attack upon the Republic as constituted, terming it a "parliamentary oligarchy." The address created something of a sensation, though perhaps less than its author expected, and revived for a short time the agitation in favor of exiling all French princes. But the government opposed the movement strongly and it was defeated.

GERMANY.—The twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of the Kaiser, King William, to the throne of Prussia, was celebrated with great pomp at Berlin on the 3rd of January. The German Government has fully determined upon the construction of a CANAL TO UNITE THE BALTIC AND THE NORTH SEAS. It is to pass in a nearly direct line from near Kiel to the mouth of the Elbe. The cost is calculated at 150,000,000 marks. The object is both military and commercial; the distance saved in the passage between the two seas is between three and four hundred miles, to say nothing of the perils of the voyage around the Skaw, which will be avoided by the use of the projected canal.—Not a little excitement in diplomatic quarters was caused during January by an announcement that Germany had seized upon the SAMOAN ISLANDS. The origin of the report was in certain occurrences following a collision of the Samoan and German authorities; and while there was some foundation for the report, the German Government made an explicit denial of any intention to extend its sovereignty over Samoa.—Some remarkable interchanges of courtesies between THE GERMAN COURT AND THE VATICAN took place in January. The Pope sent to Prince Bismarck a decoration of the Order of Christ, set in diamonds, together with a most complimentary letter. The German Government in turn sent decorations of German orders to several Cardinals of high rank at the Papal Court. Inspired articles were printed in Berlin papers praising without stint the conduct of the Caroline Islands arbitration by his Holiness. Finally, it was given out as probable that the Pope would leave vacant the Archbishopric of Posen-Gnesen, over which there has been so long a dispute, and that an Archbishop of Berlin would be appointed, who would succeed to the jurisdiction over Posen. The diplomatic flirtation was succeeded, and explained, on Feb. 15, by the introduction of a bill in the upper house of the Prussian Landtag. By this bill the government proposed to abrogate all the famous "May Laws," aimed at the Roman Catholic Church, except that part which required the government to be notified of ecclesiastical appointments.—On the 15th of January a debate took place in the Reichstag, upon the EXPULSION OF POLES from Prussian Poland by the Prussian Government. The policy was strongly condemned by a majority of the representatives. Prince Bismarck absented himself from the debate and took no part in the parliamentary contest, holding that the matter was one which concerned Prussia alone, and that the Reichstag possessed no jurisdiction. On the 28th of January, however, he explained and justified his policy in a powerful speech before the lower house of the Landtag, and declared that the government would persist in it, in spite of the resolutions of the Reichstag. The plan of the government is to buy the property of Polish land-owners at a fair valuation, and settle loyal Germans upon the estates, both as owners and tenants. Thus the character of the population of both the upper and the lower classes would be improved—from a German point of view. Prince Bismarck averred that the Poles had persistently allied themselves with the enemies of their country, and had done all in their power to stir up internal strife; he intimated that the work of expulsion was to be thorough in its character; and he declared that under no circumstances could a restoration of the Kingdom of Poland be considered.—A deficit upon the financial operations of the year was noted, and it was proposed to meet the deficiency by granting to the government a MONOPOLY OF THE SPIRIT TRAFFIC. The proposition was highly unpopular, and on the 12th of March the Committee of the Reichstag summarily rejected the first and second—the essential—clauses of the bill.

SPAIN.—The Caroline Islands question, which caused much irritation between the German and the Spanish Governments, has been amicably settled through the mediation of the Pope. The protocol was published in the *Madrid Gazette* of the 10th of January. Germany recognizes the sovereignty of Spain in the Caroline and Pelew Islands, while Spain accords to Germany certain commercial rights in the islands, together with the right to establish a coaling station. The same commercial and naval rights are also conceded to Great Britain. The manner in which the agreement was brought about by the Pope received unstinted praise, and became the occasion of certain courtesies exchanged by Germany and the Vatican. (See Germany).—There have been some indications of activity among the dynastic enemies of the Queen Regent and among Spanish Republicans, but there has been no open disorder.

DENMARK.—Some further events are to be noted in the contest between the Government and the Chambers. Herr Berg, President of the Folkething, was convicted (Sept. 30) and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for having forced the Chief of Police from the platform. at a political meeting in Holstebroe. The Supreme Court having confirmed this sentence, Herr Berg resigned the presidency of the Folkething on the 13th of January, but was immediately reëlected by the votes of the Radical majority. Nevertheless he was, on the 24th, sent to prison to serve his sentence. The relations between the King and the Parliament continued to be of the worst possible character, and as the course habitually followed in recent years of refusing to pass the financial bills was again adopted, the King closed the Folkething on Feb. 8, and once more the financial arrangements for the year are to be established by royal decree.

CENTRAL AMERICA.—A convention of representatives of the Central American Republics was held at Amapala, Honduras (Jan. 3–7), and an agreement was reached which restored completely the harmony which was interrupted by the ambitious enterprises of President Barrios, and which the failure and death of that adventurer had not restored. Nevertheless, it is represented that the tyrannies of President Bogran, of Honduras, and the jealousies prevailing among the republics are such that a revolution, aiming at a forcible union of all these countries under a dictatorship, may break out at any time, and with a good chance of success.

CHINA.—An important, but little understood, movement has begun for the construction of a system of railways in China. The Germans are the prime movers, and an influential deputation has set out for Peking in order to secure concessions, which it is understood the Chinese Government is now ready to grant.

AFRICA.—A new republic, called Upingtonia, has been established in Ovamba-land, which lies to the north of Damara-land. The territory has been purchased from the natives, and land is to be granted free to white settlers.

CANADA.—The only important event of the current session of the Canadian Parliament, which was opened by the Governor-General on Feb. 25, is the debate upon the execution of Louis Riel. The discussion arose upon a motion censuring the Government for the execution of that famous rebel, and began on March 11. The form of the motion was such that many of the opposition members (Liberals) were precluded from supporting it. They had anticipated, prior to the death of Riel, that the political importance of the French Canadian vote would lead the Government to find a way to save Riel's life; and they taunted the ministry upon a weakness which they had not shown, and which, in the end, they did not show. Some of the opposition leaders, among them Mr. Blake, who is the leader, discovered a ground upon which they could stand while voting to condemn the Government. The debate was a long and a dreary one, for, after all, the subject was soon exhausted. The vote was finally taken on the motion of censure on March 25, and the Government was sustained by 146 to 52. Seventeen French Canadian Conservatives voted against the Government, but their votes were more than offset by twenty-three Liberal votes, which were given in support of Sir John Macdonald.

RUSSIA.—Russia, in conjunction with Persia, has made a survey and determination of the line between the possessions of the two empires. The new line gives great strategical advantage to Russia, permitting those who foresee a new advance of the great northern Power in Asia to predict the ultimate overthrow of the Shah. Another step which has caused some apprehension in Europe, was a demand upon Turkey to set on foot certain administrative reforms in America. This movement, again, was held to foreshadow a new war between Russia and Turkey in the spring. (For the effect of events in the Balkan peninsula upon Russia, see Eastern Question.)

AUSTRALASIA. — The Australasian Federal Council opened its session at Hobart Town, Tasmania, on January 25. Its proceedings were not important, and neither New South Wales, South Australia, or New Zealand was represented. Nevertheless, the meeting was significant in its relations to the federation of South Pacific colonies, which is pretty certain to take place in the near future.

PANAMA CANAL.—Renewed interest has been taken in the Panama Canal during the early part of the year, in consequence of a visit made by M. de Lesseps to the Isthmus. The reception of the great canal-builder at Panama and Colon was most enthusiastic. A corps of newspaper correspondents was despatched from France, England, and America, to note events and to report upon the condition of the canal. The general judgment of these observers, excepting such as were recognized partisans of Lesseps, was, that while a large amount of excavation has been done, by far the largest, most expensive, and most difficult part of the work remains to be undertaken. Particularly, it is urged, is this true of the problem presented by the River Chagres, the waters of which must be controlled,—a task which calls for the highest exercise of engineering talents, since the river rises suddenly to a great height. M. de Lesseps, on his return to France, asserted most confidently that the canal would be completed and opened in 1889, but his belief is not

shared by others. The problem of raising the many millions which are still necessary to complete the work has not yet been solved.

PORTUGAL.—On February 19 a ministerial change took place in Portugal. General Pereira di Mello, the Premier, who has been in office since October, 1883, resigned, and a progressist ministry under Señor José Luciano de Castro succeeded to power.

BELGIUM.—LABOR DISTURBANCES.—A very serious condition of things prevailed in the little Kingdom of Belgium during the last two weeks of March. It began with a celebration of an anniversary of the Paris Commune, which took place at Liége on the 18th. The disorder to which this event gave rise soon led to a strike among the coal miners of the district, and the strike quickly spread into other provinces. It was industriously encouraged by the Anarchists, and in a few days social order was wholly subverted in many regions of the kingdom. The coal miners of Belgium are a numerous body, exceeding 100,000, and were easily persuaded to follow the self-constituted leaders, who took advantage of a dispute about wages to organize a campaign against property. For a time the town of Charleroi was completely controlled by the mob. In the enormous destruction of property which ensued in the disturbed regions the glass manufacturers fared the worst. A large number of factories was wrecked, and the industry was well-nigh destroyed. The authorities soon saw the need of most vigorous measures to quell the riots. Troops were moved to the region, but order was only restored at a considerable cost of human life. As soon as the mob had been put down the courts began to deal with the ringleaders, many of whom were convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for long terms.

LITERATURE.

NEW PERIODICALS.—In January two new English quarterlies began their career. *The English Historical Review* (Longmans) is edited by Canon Creighton, and is devoted to the interests of historical science in the broad sense. Lord Acton, the Provost of Oriel (D. B. Monro), Professor Freeman, Professor Seeley, contribute articles to the initial number. It will also have the support of the chief historical writers in America —*The Asiatic Quarterly Review* (Unwin), edited by Mr. Boulger, will seek to extend a knowledge of the East, and especially will discuss all matters affecting English interests.

At home there appeared in January *Modern Language Notes*, to be issued monthly by the Modern Language Department of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.—March 1st appeared *The Forum*, a new monthly review, edited by L. S. Metcalf, formerly associated in the conduct of *The North American*. It proposes the free discussion of questions of the day in morals, education, government and religion. While presenting opposing views, its aim is constructive, and it will seek to be independent of bias. —*The Political Science Quarterly* begins with March, a review devoted to history, economics, and jurisprudence; edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia College, New York.

NEW SOCIETIES. — An English Gœthe-Society held its preliminary meeting February 5th. The object of the Society is: "To aid and direct the scientific study of Gœthe's work and thought, to promote research upon all subjects connected with Gœthe, and to promote the exposition and diffusion of his writings." Prof. Max Müller has accepted the presidency of the society. The honorary vice-presidents are: Miss Swanwick, Mr. Matthew Arnold, Prof. J. S. Blackie, Mr. James Russell Lowell, and Prof. J. R. Seeley. The society, which now numbers over one hundred members, is to be affiliated with the *Weimar Gœthe Gesellschaft*. Gœthe study has received fresh impetus in Germany since, by the death of Gœthe's last grandson, in 1885, the poet's literary remains, hitherto jealously guarded, became accessible to the public,—passing into the possession of the Grand Duchess Sophie of Weimar as Gœthe archives.

On March 10th was held in London the inaugural meeting of a *Shelley Society*, organized for the study of the poet and his works. The society proposes the publication of papers read before it; the reprint of original editions of the poems, and of valuable articles on the poet, biographical or critical; the issue of cheap editions of his works, a primer of Shelley, and the like. It already counts nearly two hundred members, among whom may be mentioned the well-known Shelley editors, Stopford A. Brooke, W. M. Rossetti, and H. Buxton Forman; also Professor Dowden, Doctor Napier, Merton Professor of English Language and Literature at Oxford, Doctor Furnivall, and Doctor Todhunter.

PERSONAL.—Prof. W. Robertson Smith, editor of the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, has been appointed Librarian at Cambridge, England, in place of the late Henry Bradshaw.—Le Page Renouf succeeds the late Doctor Birch as Director in the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum.—Mr. A. S. Murray takes a similar position in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *vice* Prof. C. F. Newton resigned.—Monier Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in University College, Oxford, author of many well known works for the study of Sanskrit and recently of a poetical version of Kâlidâsa's *Çakuntalâ*, has been knighted.—Francis Turner Palgrave gave his introductory lecture as Oxford Professor of Poetry, February 25th.

MISCELLANEOUS.—January 28–29 a committee of the U. S. Senate gave a hearing to a deputation of American authors and publishers in reference to Senator Hawley's bill for an international copyright, the substance of which was to give copyright on equal terms to authors in all foreign countries which reciprocate. Mr. James Russell Lowell and Mr. Henry Holt, the publisher, made noteworthy speeches.—Senator Hawley was the recipient of a telegram signed by Lord Tennyson in behalf of the English Society of Authors, thanking him for his effort.

Some six hundred volumes of English works translated into Chinese, which were exhibited at the London Health Exhibition, have been presented to the British Museum. The collection comprises translations of the Bible into various dialects, religious works, and many works on political and scientific subjects.

A preliminary announcement from Vienna states that examination of the Renier MSS. found at Fayoum, Egypt, has brought to light a number of important classical fragments, hitherto undiscovered; among them are an ode of Sappho, portions of Aristotle bearing on the constitutional history of Athens, and an oration of Aeschines.

The Literary News gives the total of books published in America in 1885 as 4030, against 4088 in 1884. The novels amounted to 934, against 943 in '84; or including juveniles, 1322, to 1301 in '84. It quotes *The Publishers' Circular*, which gives the corresponding data for England: total, '85, 4307, in '84, 4832; novels, 455 and 408; adding tales and juveniles, 1126 and 1011. It will thus be seen that one-third nearly of all books published in America are novels and tales,—in England, one-fourth. Of the 934 novels published in America last year, however, two-thirds were reprints of foreign books.

In the valuable survey of Continental literature made at the close of the year by the London *Athenæum*, the reports of the specialists in each country remark the rapid increase in the writing of novels and tales.

The total number of books published in Germany in '85 is given as 16,305, against 15,607 in '84; nearly double the combined totals for England and America.

NECROLOGY.—Jan. 5.—Mr. J. B. Lippincott, of Philadelphia, publisher, bookseller, and importer, in his 71st year.

Jan. 16.—Rev. Henry N. Hudson, Shakespearean scholar, Professor in Boston University, at the age of seventy-two. His first edition of Shakespeare was published in 1851; his final edition, called the "Harvard Edition," in twenty vols., in 1881.

Feb. 10.—Mr. Henry Bradshaw, at fifty-four; for nineteen years Librarian of Cambridge University, England; "the first scientific bibliographer in Europe."

Feb. 13.—Doctor Tulloch, at sixty-three; for over thirty years Principal of St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews, Scotland. His most important work is *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1872).

Feb. 28.—Mr. Henry Stevens, at fifty-seven, in London; a bibliographer especially versed in all works relating to America. He bought for the British Museum. Through him was secured for the United States the valuable collection of Franklin MSS.

March 27.—Sir Henry Taylor, poet and essayist, at eighty-five. His greatest work, *Philip von Artevelde*, was published in 1834.

March 28.—Richard Chevenix Trench, at seventy-nine; made Dean of Westminster in 1856, Archbishop of Dublin and Kildare in 1884. He published poems, sermons, essays. His popular lectures on *The Study of Words* have had a wide sale in America.

April 7.—T. A. Thacher, LL.D., at seventy-one; for upwards of forty years Professor of Latin in Yale College.

SCIENCE.

ASTRONOMY.—On the 18th of January there was presented to the French Academy a series of astronomical photographs, by MM. Paul and Prosper Henry, which are said to be of the greatest beauty and value. They include many plates of the Milky Way and of other important regions of the heavens. Stars appear upon them which are of the sixteenth or seventeenth magnitude, invisible to the most powerful instruments. They show also a hitherto undetected nebula near the star Maia in the Pleiades.

This nebula has been since seen by Struve with the great telescope at Pulkova, and also later by M. Perrotin. The light from Maia so overpowered that of the nebula that the star had to be masked out of the field before the nebula could be seen.

After the announcement of the discovery of this nebula, Professor Pickering of the Harvard Observatory inspected a negative of the Pleiades which he had taken last year, and found the nebula distinctly marked upon it. The peculiar appearance of the photograph had been noticed at the time it was taken, but no importance was attached to it, as it was thought to be due to some trifling defect in the plate.

Professor Pickering has issued some photographs of stellar spectra, in which the spectrum appears as a broad band of light, as if coming from a slit. The spectrum of a star, of course, when viewed with the eye, appears as a thin line, since the light originates at a point. Professor Pickering obtains this result by checking the motion of the telescope and camera, so that the image of the spectrum travels across the photographic plate. The spectra thus obtained fall into two general

groups, one characterized by a few broad bands, and the other by more numerous and sharply defined lines.

Professor Rowland of the Johns Hopkins University has issued a photographic map of the solar spectrum, upon which he has been working three years. It was made by the use of his curved diffraction grating, which permits photographs to be taken on a large scale, and gives a normal spectrum directly. It covers the region from wave length 3,100 to 5,790, and shows several lines double which have not appeared as such in any complete map, although the fact that they are double has been previously recognized. The wave lengths of over two hundred lines have been determined with great exactness, and serve as points of reference for the other lines.

The observations of Professor Swift at Rochester show that the star Nova Andromedæ had so far diminished in brightness by the middle of January as to be invisible in his telescope.

The new star in Orion, discovered by Mr Gore, has attracted attention on account of its remarkable spectrum. This is of such a nature as to indicate that the star is not a temporary star, but more probably a variable of long period, which has now for the first time been noticed.

Both of the comets discovered towards the close of last year, known as Fabry's and Barnard's comets, are still increasing in brightness. It is expected that they will become visible about the end of April. The direction of motion of Fabry's comet was very nearly parallel to that of the earth during the period covered by the earlier observations, so that the first orbits computed differed very widely from one another.

MATHEMATICS.—In *Nature*, Jan. 7, appeared the inaugural lecture of Professor Sylvester, of Oxford, delivered by him on Dec. 12, 1885. In it he presents "The Method of Reciprocants as Containing an Exhaustive Theory of the Singularities of Curves." A reciprocant is defined as an algebraic function of the derivatives of one variable with respect to another, which will remain unaltered except in sign or by a factor which is a power of the first derivative, when the dependent and independent variables are interchanged. Professor Sylvester shows how these functions may be employed in discussing the singularities of curves,

In the discovery of these forms he was to some extent anticipated by M. Halphen of Paris. The new forms have already given rise to much discussion and several advances in the theory have been made by other mathematicians.

PHYSICS.—Professor Langley published in the *American Journal of Science and Art* for January some results of his researches on the spectra of bodies at low temperatures. In some cases the temperatures were below 0° C. The spectra were formed by means of a train of rock salt prisms and lenses and examined with the bolometer. He finds a distinct spectrum at any temperature of the radiating body. The point of maximum heat shows a real though slight progression toward the shorter wave lengths as the temperature of the radiating body rises. Professor Langley has succeeded in detecting radiations having a wave length of about 0.015 millimetres, over twenty-five times as great as that of the yellow sodium lines. The wave lengths of radiance have now been shown to extend over more than six octaves, while the visible portion of the spectrum hardly extends over one octave.

F. and W. Kohlrausch, in *Wiedeman's Annalen*, No. 1, 1886, give the results of a most careful determination of the electrochemical equivalent of silver. They find that a current of one Ampère in one second deposits 1.1183 milligrammes of silver. This result is closely in accord with the values of this constant which have hitherto been in use.

Lord Rayleigh gave to the Royal Society on Jan. 21 his measurements of the electromotive force of the Latimer Clark cell. It is very constantly 1.454 volts at 15° C., and varies with temperature in a way which is also investigated, and for which a correction can be applied These two valuable constants will now enable measures of electrical quantities to be made with accuracy, without the use of "absolute" methods of measurement.

O. Tumlirz states in *Wiedemann's Annalen*, No. 1, 1886, that he has observed the behavior of a quartz crystal in a magnetic field, and concludes that quartz, when placed in a magnetic field, assumes a polarity which remains for some time unaltered.

M. Hirn, in the *Annales de Chimie et de Physique* for March, has studied the efflux of air from one vessel into another. He finds that if the pressures in the two vessels differ greatly, none of the theoretical formulas now known will correctly express the amount of air which flows out in a given time. He finds also that the velocity of efflux of the air is very much greater than that assigned as a maximum limit by the kinetic theory of gases. On the other hand, Mr. Henry Wilde has carried out a research, of which he gave some account at the meeting of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Nov. 3, 1885, in which he has obtained velocities of efflux not contradicting the kinetic theory of gases. Prof. Osborne Reynolds has given a theoretical discussion of these results in the *Philosophical Magazine* for March.

Mr. Edison has lately shown that it is possible to detect the effect of a suddenly-charged conductor upon other conductors at considerable distances from it, and has applied his discovery to a system of telegraphy, by which communications can be sent from

a railway train in motion by means of the ordinary telegraph lines.

CHEMISTRY.—The *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft* for February announces the discovery of a new element. It was found by Professor Clemens Winkler of Freiberg in Argyrodite, a new mineral investigated by Weisbach, and has been named Germanium. The new element has been isolated and appears to have affinities with arsenic and antimony. Its atomic weight has not yet been determined, but the new element probably stands in the natural classification of the elements between antimony and bismuth.

Doctor Strohecker, of Frankfort, has found in certain building-clays large quantities of several of the rarer elements, such as cerium, didymium, beryllium, lanthanum, and yttrium. The cerium, in the form of hydroxide, is the coloring material in the clays.

THE NATURAL SCIENCES.—Doctor Riley, Entomologist of the United States Agricultural Department, has presented to the United States his great collection of insects, containing 115,000 specimens of 20,000 species or varieties.

M. Olivier has succeeded in demonstrating by several methods the continuity of protoplasm in the box-tree and in *ficus elastica*.

Professor Scott has published in the *American Journal of Science and Arts* for April an account of a newly discovered form of fossil mammal. It has been named Elachoceras, on account of the insignificance of the so-called "horns." It is allied to the Uintatherium, and fills a gap in the series between the Coryphodons and the Dinocerata.

Professor Du Bois Reymond presented to the Physiological Society at Berlin on Jan. 15 the results of his investigations on the electrical organs of the torpedo. He has shown that if the conducting power of this organ for powerful currents of short duration be measured both when the current flows in the direction of the shock and in the opposite direction, it will be much greater in the former case. This fact explains the vigorous effects produced outside the body by the shocks of electric fish.

The *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science* for February publishes "The Official Refutation of Doctor Robert Koch's Theory of Cholera and Commas." In the year 1884, the English Government sent Doctors E. Klein and Heneage Gibbes to India to inquire into the nature of Asiatic cholera. They remained in the country about five months, and collected a large number of observations upon which the report here referred to was based. Their investigations were mainly directed to the questions raised by Doctor Koch, of the German Cholera Commission, whose theory that the comma bacillus discovered by him is the true cause of cholera has become so prominent. Doctors Klein and Gibbes admit freely that the comma bacillus is found in connection with cholera, but take issue with Doctor Koch on many other facts, and disagree entirely with his conclusion. They deny that the abundance of the comma bacilli bears any proportion to the acuteness of the attack, as claimed by Doctor Koch, saying that there are acute cases in which the comma bacilli are very scarce, indeed, even after the disease has well set in. They argue further from the portions of the intestine in which the comma bacilli are found, and from the fact that they are found only in dead tissue, that they are putrefactive organisms. They have failed to find any comma bacilli either in the blood or tissues of cholera patients.

In opposition to Doctor Koch's claim that the comma bacilli are never found except in connection with cholera, Doctors Klein and Gibbes assert that the same bacillus is present in cases of other intestinal diseases. They show also that forms at least similar to the comma bacilli are present in people in ordinary health. One of these forms, which occurs in the mouth, has been cultivated, and acts in every respect like the comma bacilli taken directly from a case of cholera.

Doctor Koch had cited, as a proof of a causal connection between the comma bacilli and cholera, a case which he had studied, where an outbreak of cholera had appeared in a native quarter in Calcutta, which was supplied with water from a tank in which he found great numbers of the comma bacilli; and where, further, the disease diminished with the diminution of the comma bacilli in the water. Doctors Klein and Gibbes visited the same tank and found the water still filled with comma bacilli, while no cholera existed in the district supplied with it. They discovered several other cases of the same sort, where the comma bacilli existed in plenty in water-tanks not associated with any recent outbreak of cholera. They were, further, not able to produce the disease in any animal by introducing the comma bacilli into the system; and it is said that Doctor Klein swallowed them himself with impunity.

The commission of eminent British physiologists and physicians to whom this report was referred, appear to accept the conclusions of Doctors Klein and Gibbes, and express their conviction that "sanitary measures, in their true sense, and sanitary measures alone, are the only trustworthy means to prevent outbreaks of the disease, and to restrain its spread and mitigate its severity when it is prevalent."

NECROLOGY.—M. Barré de Saint-Venant died on January 6 at Vendôme. He was the greatest authority on the mathematical theory of elasticity, the development of which in its modern practical forms was largely due to him. Much of his work is

contained in his *Mémoire sur la Torsion des Prismes*, laid before the French Academy in 1853. He recently edited with many additions a French translation of Clebsch's treatise on Elasticity.

Prof. John Morris died on January 7. From 1855 to 1877 he was Professor of Geology in University College, London, and was well known from his catalogue of British fossils.

Prof. Edward Oscar Schmidt died on January 17 at Strasburg. He had been since 1872 Professor of Zoölogy in that city. He is best known for his study and classification of the sponges.

Doctor Von Lasaulx, Professor of Mineralogy and Geology at the University in Bonn, died on January 25.

M. J. Jamin, Perpetual Secretary for the Section of Physical Science of the French Academy, died during February. His work in optics and electricity was of a high order, and he was author of the valuable treatise, *Cours de Physique de l'École Polytechnique.*

Dr. Heinrich Fischer, Professor of Mineralogy at the University in Freiburg, died during February.

Prof. C. J. Edward Morren, Professor of Botany at Liége, died on February 28.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

Since the opening of the year the EGYPTIAN EXPLORATION FUND has energetically pushed the excavations on the site of Naukratis, opening a Greek cemetery of early Ptolemaic times, revealing a quantity of animal as well as human burials. The temenos of the Dioscuri has been further cleared, bringing to light an archaic tetrastyle temple of brick covered with stucco. More important has been the identification and excavation of the temenos of Aphrodite, revealing the existence of three successive temples at different levels. The plan of the earliest has been completely recovered. A portion of the antiquities found have been voted to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Under the direction of Professor Brugsch, the great Sphinx of Gizēh has been uncovered and is to be protected by a wall from the encroaching sand. Professor Sayce has recovered many new inscriptions, and at Ekmîn found some fine Roman paintings. Professor Maspero has been uncovering the great temple at Lüxor. Colossal statues of Rameses II. have been brought to light. On the west bank of the Nile, opposite Assouan, a series of fine rock-cut tombs of the sixth and twelfth dynasties have been found by General Grenfell. He is clearing away the mud-built Coptic town which disfigures the Island of Philae.

The Archæological Institute of America has published the report of the WOLFE EXPEDITION TO BABYLONIA by Dr. William Hayes Ward. Doctor Ward believes he has found at Anbar the site of the older Soppara of Anunit. He brings back a number of complete historical cylinders, as well as contract and other tablets, seals, and gems.

The excavations on the Acropolis at ATHENS have led to the recovery of eight archaic statues of Athena. Traces of color remain on the hair and garments. One has still the eyes encrusted with transparent crystal. A colossal bronze statue of a female figure has also been found on the Acropolis, and a painting of the fifth century B. C. representing a warrior, with helmet, shield, and spear.

The *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* for January contains an illustration and description of a noteworthy archaic stone statue found by M. Maurice Holleaux in Bœotia. It resembles the so-called Apollo of Orchomenos, but is evidently of somewhat later date. Two bronze lions of archaic style and several heads of statues have also been discovered.

From ROME comes the news of the discovery, outside the Porta Salaria, of a mausoleum larger than the celebrated tomb of Cæcilia Metella. An inscription shows that it was erected by Marcus Lucinius Petus, Prefect of the Cavalry, for himself and his sister. More important has been the discovery of the Horrea Galbæ, situated not far from the Arco S. Lazaro. It consisted of a series of rectangular courts, surrounded by wide porticos, and served as a warehouse for storing supplies and as a safe deposit for all family valuables. An inscription in one room gives fifty-nine names of officers and keepers. Not many weeks ago a marble slab was found containing the Lex Horreorum, or laws regulating the management of these warehouses. It has been translated into English in the *Athenæum*, Jan. 23. Below the Basilica of San Paolo has been found the tomb of the founder of the horrea, Sergius Sulpicius Galba, Consul in 646 A. U. C., and great-grandfather of the Emperor Galba. Signor Lanciani has discovered a beautiful mosaic pavement in the Via Appia, 9x6 feet, representing Pluto in his chariot carrying off Proserpine. Mercury leads the way and four nymphs follow behind. Rome will also be enriched by a modern mosaic, "Christ Blessing the Earth," designed by Mr. Burne Jones. It has been placed in the American Church. An important order has been issued by Pope Leo XIII. that no more ceremonies be held in the Sixtine Chapel. This has been done for the sake of preserving the frescoes of Michael Angelo. In BERLIN an effort is being made to revive polychromatic sculpture. Under the direc tion of Doctor Treu an exposition has been held in the National Gallery, consisting of 150 ancient and 150 modern specimens of painted sculpture. The historic basis of the endeavor is thus set forth in the pro-

gramme: "Behold the Assyrian bas-reliefs, the works of bronze, ivory, wood, lacquer, and gold of the Chinese and Japanese, the wooden figures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, specimens of the art of the Della Robbia, old Saxon and old Berlin ware, and, finally, the Tanagra figurines and restoration of Greek marbles. You see we are not ignorant revolutionaries trying to rival the wax-work museums, but lovers of art and desirous of renewing the beautiful tradition rudely broken by the misconceptions of the Renaissance." French sculptors are busily engaged in making statues. Tours is about to raise a statue to Balzac, Nancy to Claude Lorraine, and Paris to Lamartine, Henri Martin, Berlioz, General Cheveot, Parmentier, Nicolas Leblanc, and Denis Papin.

In LONDON the Grosvenor Gallery, which has illustrated the works of Reynolds, Gainsborough, Watts, and Alma Tadema, is now exhibiting a noteworthy collection of nearly 150 pictures by Sir John Millais. Mr. Sidney Colvin has resigned the Slade Professorship of Fine Arts at Cambridge and Mr. J. H. Middleton, author of *Ancient Rome in* 1885, elected in his place. A window has been placed in Westminster Abbey in honor of Sir William Siemens, the electrician. In PARIS the Department of the Administration of Fine Arts has appointed M. le Vicomte Both de Tanzia to the charge of paintings, drawings and engravings. Ancient pottery has been added to Oriental antiquities in charge of MM. Léon Henzey and Ledrain, and Greek and Roman sculpture has been consigned to MM. Heron de Villeposse and Charles Ravaisson. A significant venture has been made by the successors of Goupil & Co. in the publication of the new monthly magazine *Les Lettres et les Arts*, unrivalled in typography and illustration, at a subscription price in this country of $72 per annum. Art and Archæology were united in the representation of the History of the Theatre, given at the Opera House January 26th. Scenes were taken from the Greek, Roman, mediæval and seventeenth century theatre. In VIENNA the Russian painter, Vereschagin, has exhibited in the Academy of Fine Arts two blasphemous pictures. Cardinal Gauglbauer has protested, but the pictures have been allowed to remain and excite much adverse comment. The National Museum at BRUSSELS has procured for 100,000 francs a Rembrandt of the best period, and the Museum at ANTWERP for 85,000 francs a very fine Franz Hals. In this country we are happy to be able to record the completion of the Museum at CINCINNATI, which starts with an income of $10,500. In connection with it an Art School, with an income of $15,000, will soon be erected. At the National Museum in WASHINGTON, the hall of aboriginal American pottery with upwards of 20,000 specimens has been opened to the public. Modern and ancient pueblos, the Mississippi Valley, Mexico, Costa Rica, Chèriqui, Peru, and Brazil are well represented. In the CITY OF MEXICO the great Calendar stone has been removed from the west wall of the Cathedral and placed in the National Museum.

NECROLOGY.—Archæology suffers a severe loss in the death of Samuel Birch (Nov. 3, 1813—Dec. 27, 1885), the distinguished Egyptologist. He served fifty years in connection with the British Museum. Amongst his many writings may be mentioned *History of Ancient Pottery*, 1857.

Funeral Ritual or *Book of the Dead*, the *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics* and *Grammar* in the fifth volume of the English edition of Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, 1867.

Records of the Past, edited by Birch, 1873-7.

Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Birch's edition, 1878.

The new year brought with it the loss of James Ferguson (1808-Jan. 9, 1886), the historian of architecture.

Rock-cut Temples of India, 1845.
Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis, 1851.
History of Architecture, 1865-7.
Rude Stone Monuments, 1872.
Tree and Serpent Worship, 1873.
The Parthenon, 1882.

Many will mourn the loss of Randolph Caldecott, a genius in the illustration of children's books. He died Feb. 12th in Florida.

One of the ablest of French artists, Paul Jacques Aimé Baudry, died on the 17th of January. Born in 1828 at La Roche-sur-Yonne, studied at École des Beaux Arts, Paris, won Prix de Rome 1850, world-wide reputation for his decoration of the *foyer* of the Opera House, where he represented the Apotheosis of the Fine Arts, 1865-73. An exhibition of his paintings in Paris began April 1st.

We note also the death of Léon Gaucherel, January 6, the Art Director of *L'Art*.

ANALYTICAL INDEX.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.—Two new features will be noted in the index—first, to the ordinary analytical arrangement is added a classification of each subject a second time under the head of the *general* subject to which it contributes, giving analysis of each article, as, for instance, *Public Questions*, *Literature*, *Art and Archæology*, *Science*, *History*, *Religion and Morals*, *Philosophy*, *Education*. The utility of this addition will be readily seen by a reference to any one of these general headings, enabling one at a glance to review the *whole field* under that head. Second, as an economy of time, dates and amounts are introduced, wherever practical, in the index itself: *see* "Burmah," annexation of, to Great Britain; also "Convict Labor," value of output, in the United States. Special attention also has been given to the system of cross-reference, placing each item under as many different titles as may be appropriate to the subject.